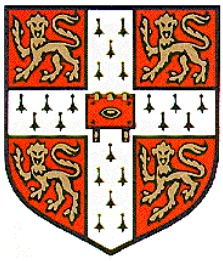
The Role of Ethnic Minority Communities and Identities in Explaining Relationships with and Attitudes toward the Police in the London Borough of Hackney

A dissertation submitted to the University of Cambridge in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

THE INSTITUTE OF CRIMINOLOGY

FACULTY OF LAW



BY MAYA STAVISKY
NEWNHAM COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

November 2017

DECLARATIONS

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text and acknowledgements.

It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted or is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted or is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University of similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

This dissertation, including footnotes, does not exceed the permitted length.

Signed..... Maya Stavisky

Date.....

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank a number of people who made this achievement possible. First and foremost, I want to thank my supervisor, Dr Timothy Coupe. It has been an honour to be his student. I appreciate his support, generosity of time, boundless knowledge, creative ideas, sense of humor and endless encouragement along the (long) way. I would like to thank Professor Loraine Gelsthorpe for her support over the years and for being such an inspirational mentor. It would have been very difficult to reach this point without her.

I am particularly thankful to Mr Martin Davis, former head of Hackney Safer Community Services, who supported my research from its early days and introduced me to other players. I am indebted to the members of community organisations operating in Hackney who welcomed my research and agreed to participate. Thank you to the Safer School Partnerships Team who gave me their precious time and allowed me to observe their work. I would like to offer special thanks to Mrs Nicola Baboneau from the Learning Trust and to the young participants who offered their time and shared their experiences with me.

I gratefully acknowledge the funding sources that made my Ph.D. work possible. I received funding from the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), B'nai B'rith and Newnham College.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends and family, who taught me to never give up and gave endless love and support. Thank you to all who crossed my path and encouraged me to carry out this project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

1. INTRODUCTION

Riots have erupted, social movements have been established, political agendas have been written, laws have been introduced and amended as a result of challenging police-minority relationships. Minorities' grievances regarding police misconduct, discrimination, and denial of rights and their struggles and achievements in reasserting their rights have characterised police-minority relations, irrespective of time or place. Despite a documented effort within legal and policy frameworks, low levels of trust between the police and black and minority ethnic (BME) communities persist, perhaps owing to the symbolism the relationship embodies: the police force is the representation of power *par excellence*.

Although minorities comprise a small portion of the overall population in England and Wales, there are areas in which high concentrations of minority populations make them the local majority (ONS, 2011). The London Borough of Hackney is one of these areas, and resembles a growing number of inner-city areas across the world. As such, it offers a distinctive opportunity to explore police-minority relationships and to test assumptions about ethnic minorities' attitudes toward the police in these settings.

This study examines different aspects of the relationship between the police and BME communities in Hackney by integrating community-level and individual-level explanations. It explores how key members of Hackney BME communities perceive their community's relationship with the police and investigates how shared ideas about the police circulating within a community have an impact on attitudes held by young people. As such, it provides insight into the process of legal socialisation.

'Legal socialisation' is the process by which young people acquire an *understanding* of, and develop a *relationship* with, authorities and the legal system (Fagan & Tyler, 2005). Legal socialisation calls attention not only to understanding how individuals acquire *values* and *attitudes* about the law and legal system (Tapp, 1991), but also to how they learn *practices*, such as how to approach those authorities (Tapp & Levine, 1974). Whilst Fagan and Tyler (2005) suggest that legal socialisation occurs during adolescence, we have insufficient understanding of the elements and mechanisms that play a role in BME youth perceptions of the Criminal Justice System (CJS) and the point at which those perceptions mature.

In this chapter I lay the foundation for the following analysis. I discuss ethnicity, race and policing and explore my research topic's importance; I define fundamental concepts; I review gaps and shortcomings in earlier research. I then propose research questions and general themes and, finally, outline the structure of the dissertation.

1.1 Ethnicity, race and policing

Many of the study's participants or their relatives lived in British colonies – or are still living in *former* British colonies – in which the colonial police operated. This police model, deployed throughout colonial Africa, Asia and the Caribbean, was structurally more centralised and militarised than in England; it focused more on public order and control than on the prevention and detection of crime. Although the Colonial Police Service model was not consistent across time and space, as a component of the Colonial Service it was a hub for centralised training and coordinating administrative affairs (Mawby, 2003). The colonial police drew their legitimacy not from the local population but from their colonial 'masters' (*ibid*). In conflicts building up to independence and transitions from colonial policing to post-colonial systems, local populations increasingly contested the British colonial policing system and challenged its precarious legitimacy. While the obvious and explicit practices of colonialism (i.e. enslavement, exploitation and denial of human rights) were abolished in most parts of the British Empire, implicit practices manifested in culture, language and institutions remained after the transition to the post-colonial era.

In the UK, the police gradually lost their supposed neutrality and were used to enforce government policies during times of unrest. From breaking up the power of the trade unions under the Thatcher government to supressing race riots (e.g. Brixton), the police progressively became politicised (Reiner, 2010). The murder of Stephen Lawrence was a watershed event in the relationship between the police and BME communities in England. In a racially-motivated attack, Stephen Lawrence was murdered while waiting for a bus in London in 1993. In 1997, the Lawrence family registered a formal complaint with the Police Complaints Authority, claiming that police handling of the case was compromised by racism. The Home Secretary ordered a public inquiry into the allegations. Headed by Sir William Macpherson, who examined the original Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) investigation, the inquiry concluded that the force was institutionally racist.

From an organisational perspective, there are multiple definitions of institutional racism. Simply put, it is insensitivity to the feelings of members of ethnic minorities. On a personal level it manifests as follows:

> Institutional racism is about stereotyping; it is about being unwitting; it is about ignorance; it is about failing to recognise a racist/hate crime; it is about not listening or understanding and not being interested in listening or understanding; it is about white pretence and black people being seen as a problem. (Grieve & French, 2000:14)

The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry drew attention to the problematic nature of policing and diversity, and issues of power and racism. The Macpherson Report recommended changes to police organisational culture and practices (following which an independent advisory group to monitor police racism was set up) in addition to changes to the law (including the Police Complaints and Misconduct Regulations 2004). While the report was largely accepted as a positive move, it also provoked controversy about its applicability. Some people voiced concerns about the moral and practical issues surrounding the monitoring of racist thoughts and ideas. Critics of the Report (Skidelsky, 2000; Ignatieff, 2000) asked how such 'unwitting' racism could be practically pinned down.

Other changes over recent decades have shaped today's police force. First, central government became increasingly involved in police organisation. In order to optimise government control, greater levels of scrutiny, performance indicators, and commitments to accountability were implemented. Second, contradictory demands for police localisation and pluralisation grew, and the Metropolitan Police force began to lose its monopoly to other agencies, such as local government and community organisations (Garland, 1996). The Crime and Disorder Act of 1998 encouraged the police to work in partnership with and across agencies, as is evident at all levels of policing in Hackney. Third, the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (PACE), the Police Act 1996, and the Terrorism Act 2000 defined police powers with reference to stop and search. Last, after a few decades of lower visibility during which the police were seen less on foot patrols and more in cars (Newburn, 2003), police (in the form of Community Support Officers) returned to the streets.

Macro-level trends, such as changes to family structure, globalisation, and greater economic inequality, intensified social and individual vulnerability, particularly in inner-city areas where

minorities tend to live. Moreover, the influx of immigrants since the late 1990 (ONS, 2014) and resulting cultural diversity posed additional challenges to the police, entangling questions of race and ethnicity, immigration, nationality and identity.

1.2 Foundational concepts used in this study

I now define and discuss key concepts used throughout this dissertation. These concepts play significant roles in understanding individuals and their community's perceptions and evaluations of the police. Ethnicity is considered as both an ascribed and a socially-constructed category; thus, I aim to highlight and explain discrepancies between surveys that use ethnicity and race as unidimensional attributes.

1.2.1 Ethnic and racial identity versus race and ethnicity

The terms 'race' and 'ethnicity' are distinct but not mutually exclusive and are used together and separately throughout the dissertation. Yet, the distinction between 'race' and 'ethnicity', and 'racial and ethnic identities' ought to be part of the discussion, since they are *not* interchangeable.

'Race' and 'ethnicity' share ideology of common heritage, but they also have important differences. In theory, race is an ascribed category: a group of persons with shared genetic, biological, and physical features (Graham *et al.*, 2009). Imperialism and colonialism in Europe and slavery in the United States inspired the development of racial theories. Popular conceptions of race derived from 19th and early 20th century scientific formulations legitimised race as a means of classifying and explaining people's variability (*cf.* Morton, 1844; Gobineau, 1853). After the Second World War, explicit references to the racial superiority became less common, and other forms of categorisation, such as ethnicity, have gradually been added to or replaced the biologically based categorisation. 'Ethnicity', a relatively recent term, is commonly defined as a social construct and category that reflects a group's common history, including national origin, geography, language, and culture (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996).

National surveys reflect how changing demographics and shifting definitions make it difficult to capture ethnicity empirically. In the 1991 Census, the following tick-boxes were used: White, Black-Caribbean, Black-African, Black-Other, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese and Any other ethnic group (ONS, 1991). The 2001 census ethnic groups included sixteen

categories: White (White British, White Irish, Other White), Mixed (White and Black Caribbean, White and Black African, White and Asian, Other Mixed), Asian or Asian British (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Other Asian), Black or Black British (Black Caribbean, African, Other Black) and Chinese or Other Ethnic Group. The 2011 census added two sub-categories to the 2001 census's groupings: Gypsy or Irish Traveller (White) and Arab (Other ethnic group); Chinese was merged into the Asian British category. The 2011 Census not only put together ethnicity, race (e.g., Black), nationality (e.g. Asian British) and religion (e.g. many Arabs are Muslim) under the 'ethnic group' rubric but also changed the wording of the question to include self-identification ("Choose one section from A to E, then tick one box that best describes your ethnic group or background").

Critiques from psychoanalysis, feminism and cultural criticism have challenged the fixed notions of ethnicity and race, questioning assumptions about its objectivity and the relationship between the two concepts. Such approaches emphasise ethnicity's socially-constructed nature, highlighting fluid, contextual personal experiences (*cf.* Bhabha, 1990; Hall, 1992; Gilroy, 1987). Hall argues, "The term ethnicity acknowledges the place of history, language, and culture in the construction of subjectivity and identity, as well as the fact that all discourse is placed, positioned, situated and all knowledge is contextual" (1992: 257). Furthermore, ethnicity intersects not only with race, but also with class and gender within the arena of power relations. Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1993) view ethnicity, gender and class as different aspects of social processes that draw boundaries between collectivities. Rustin (1991:57) claims that "'race' is an empty category which is filled with different sorts of projection", suggesting that race is empirically difficult to apprehend. What is empirically more feasible to capture are the experiences of those on the other end: those who define themselves though these categories.

Racial and ethnic identities

The works of Erikson (1968), Tajfel (1972) and Phinney (1996) are key to understanding racial and ethnic identity. Erikson thought of identity as comprising both conscious and unconscious processes shaped by interaction between biological characteristics, psychological needs and cultural milieu. Furthermore, he acknowledged the role of social feedback in identity-formation (Erikson, 1968). Though his approach was ground-breaking and applicable to a wide range of cultural settings (Marcia *et al.,* 1993), it has been criticised for being 'narrow' in that it refers only to three stages of development, is ambiguous about the different meanings of identity, and is unclear in referring to identity both as a structure and as a process (Kroger, 2004/ 2007).

Tajfel (1972) introduced the idea of 'social identity', or one's "individual knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups, together with some emotional and value significance to him of the group membership" (Tajfel, 1972:31). Self-Categorisation Theory (SCT), developed by Tajfel and Turner (1986), explains how people define and categorise themselves and the effects these categorisations have on the individual. SCT focuses on the social-cognitive basis of group membership, i.e. on how individuals analyse their social world and feel attached (or not) to a group. While this theory is a good starting point, its focus on cognitive and perceptual processes does not allow for ambiguity and neglects other influences and motivations such as group history and culture.

Phinney's (1992/1996) theories draw on perspectives from developmental and social psychology and focus on ethnic identity development. Phinney (1992) designed the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), conceptualising the process of ethnic identity development as: 1) unexamined ethnic identity; 2) ethnic identity search; and 3) achieved ethnic identity (a secure and confidant sense of their ethnicity). A limitation of Phinney's work is that it has focused on the USA and is limited in coverage (since her original study included only three ethnic groups). Her model focuses on the individual rather than on interacting processes underlying the development of ethnic identity (Helms & Piper, 1994). Highlighting the affective aspect of ethnic identity, other scholars focus on group commitment and attachment and consider them the most important aspects of ethnic identity (Ashmore *et al*., 2004).

Although ethnic identity is commonly conceptualised as a stand-alone process, it can be explored together with other contexts and developmental processes, such as gender and national identity formation (Umaña-Taylor *et al*., 2014). National identity refers to one's sense of belonging to a state or nation (Ashmore *et al*., 2001). Ethnic identity formation is evidently a dynamic process (Phinney, 1995), which makes it difficult to conclude with certainty what it is and with what other processes it interacts; moreover, the salience of ethnic identity changes over time (Yip & Fuligni, 2002).

Racial identity overlaps conceptually with ethnic identity. Both involve a sense of belonging to a group and are developmental processes that involve learning about that group. They are dynamic and fluctuate in salience and context. However, ethnic and racial identities have been investigated in different ways. For example, the study of ethnic identities has explored a wide range of factors and constructs, whereas the study of racial identities has mainly focused on

responses to racism (Helms, 2007). The formation of racial identity and internalising racism may result in 'double consciousness', which Du Bois formulated in the American context as:

> " . . . a peculiar sensation […] of always looking at oneself through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity" (Du Bois, 1903:3).

Identity processes and the police

Criminologists have proposed that CJS institutions and their agents (i.e. police, prisons, courts) can create, shape and accentuate identities (Bosworth and Kaufman 2011; Millings, 2013; Bradford *et al*., 2014), specifically referring to symbolic processes occurring during interactions in which identities become distinguished. In other words, direct or indirect contact with state institutions or their agents may convey identity-relevant information related to a group's status in society. While these interactions are important, researchers have neglected mediating and moderating factors. Potential moderators include the type and frequency of contact with the police, the development of racial and ethnic identity alongside other group identifications, the use of symbolic resources and recipients' developmental ability to unlock the 'message' (relating to inclusion or exclusion) and place it within the sphere of 'identity politics'. Ethnic identity (particularly ethnic identity search) is more salient for ethnic-minority adolescents than for ethnic-majority adolescents (Branch, Tayal, & Triplett, 2000; Phinney & Alipra, 1990). The development (search stage) of racial or ethnic identity, therefore, is likely to be accentuated with a growing awareness of adverse discrimination, negative appraisals and stereotypes. I shall now explore this awareness.

1.2.2 Attitudes and social representations of the police

Contact between the police and BME communities is multi-dimensional. The police enter into partnerships with communities in multiple ways to reduce crime, build relationships, gather intelligence and empower key members to deal with crime and delinquency, radicalisation and vigilantism. While contact with local police provides reassurance and connectedness to some, it risks disenchantment and alienation with others. In this study, I address police-minority relationships at community and individual levels through social representations and attitudes.

The terms used here to depict people's impressions of the police are 'attitudes' and 'social representations'. 'Attitudes' are favourable or unfavourable evaluations of people or objects (Augoustinos & Walker, 2006). Zanna & Rempel (1988) define attitudes as the categorisation

of a stimulus object along an evaluative dimension generated from three classes of information: (1) cognitive information; (2) affective/emotional information; and (3) information concerning past behaviours or behavioural intentions. 'Social representations' are forms of shared knowledge about specific social phenomena that raise concern and circulate in public discourse (Markova, 2003) and are commonly used in research relating to social and national identities (Howarth, 2002; Andreouli, 2010). Social representations and attitudes are based on socio-psychological mechanisms. They are evaluations of an object or referent, which places them in the 'evaluative' category. Social representation — as made up of attitudes, beliefs and practices (Moscovici, 1961) — is closely related to theories about attitudes. However, Social Representation Theory takes a step away from the positivist and individualist approach to knowledge construction. Whereas attitudes are personal in nature, social representations are general and group-based stocks of knowledge. Thus, an individual's position regarding the police is more than a product of rational choice and decision-making; rather, the police are construed alongside the *understanding* of power relations embedded within a context: a system of values, beliefs and practices.

1.3 Deficits and gaps in previous research

Whilst attitudinal surveys have been used to assess how far particular policing policies and practices have had an impact on or satisfied the public, there has been relatively little research focusing on the context or individuals' social-psychological processes of attitude and representation formation and maintenance. Although some criminologists acknowledge the symbolic power of the police (Loader & Mulcahy, 2003; Reiner, 2010; Jackson & Bradford, 2010; Fielding & Innes, 2006), symbolic realities (underlying social-psychological processes of inclusion and exclusion) and their relationship with attitudes are left largely outside the scope of criminological study.

Additionally, previous research has glossed over the issue of confounding (i.e. a variable that influences both the dependent and the independent variables) and interaction effects in exploring variations in attitudes toward the police. While the interaction between area of residence and ethnicity is well-documented in relation to social problems (where 'neighbourhood effect' refers to the confounding effect of social problems such as delinquency, low socio-economic status, and poor health), the Crime Survey of England and Wales formerly

overlooked[1] deprived areas in which members of ethnic minorities disproportionately reside, even though this information is essential to unlocking how negative attitudes toward the police develop and proliferate.

A further methodological shortcoming in previous research is that broadly defined ethnic categories have often been preferred to narrow ones, resulting in over-simplification and 'hiding' certain communities (Garland *et al.*, 2006; Kautt, 2011; Phillips & Bowling, 2003). Moreover, large-scale surveys tend to overlook other theoretically important factors associated with ethnicity, such as generational status (Kautt & Tankebe, 2011) and group membership. Social mechanisms and processes, such as self-sorting, collective efficacy and socio-cognitive processes underlying shared perceptions, have been largely ignored, although understanding these social mechanisms is crucial since they produce and interact with outcomes at the individual level.

Furthermore, most theoretical explanations for attitudes toward the police have been formulated with adults in mind. Although they have rarely been applied to younger audiences, these models insufficiently examine the formation of young people's judgments of the police. Only since 2009 has the Crime Survey for England and Wales been extended to include young people (aged 10-15 years), asking about experience of crime, attitudes toward the police, personal safety, and the use of public spaces and leisure facilities (Hoare *et al.*, 2011).

Finally, the focus on performance indicators evaluating confidence in the police may have relegated other relevant matters to the periphery. It is widely argued that positive attitudes toward the law play an important role in individual motivation to participate in informal social control, report crime and obey the law (Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012; Tyler, 1990; Tyler, 2009; Kirk & Matsuda, 2011 in Nivette *et al.*, 2014). This study offers a fresh approach to what constitutes better regard for the police among young people and examines whether the idea of police legitimacy, its correlates and its underlying constructs explains young people's attitudes toward the police, including their intentions to obey and cooperate with the police.

[1] This has been remedied from 2009 with new stratification strategies – the selection of criteria for stratification changed to include Police Force Area (PFA) density type and deprivation index (TNS BMRB, 2011).

1.4 Research questions

The present study follows Gilroy's (2010) methodological advice to recalibrate approaches to culture and identity so that they are less easily reified or amenable to misappropriation. I touch on macro-level forces (e.g. inequity, police powers, police culture, immigration, multiculturalism and race relations), while focusing on how meso-level (group-level) processes are brought to bear on micro-level (individual) relationships with and attitudes toward the police. I seek to understand the point at which young people begin to draw on symbolic accounts of the police. The key research question challenges the common over-focusing on race and ethnic 'absolutism' in explaining relationships and attitudes. I ask:

> 1) Are ethnicity and race salient for understanding people's views of the police in Hackney? (By 'ethnicity' and 'race', the question refers to both background and self-perceived identity via group association.)

I am interested in how engagement with police practices (racism or perceived racial thinking, but also collaborative practices) informs identity processes or community/police relationships. This theme leads to the next research question:

> 2) What is the relation between social representations of the police, ethnic identity and attitudes to the police?

The qualitative stage of the study, carried out in 2006-2007, sought to identify attitudes and beliefs held by key members of Hackney BME communities, including the Black Caribbean, African, Ultra-Orthodox Jewish (Haredi), and Kurdish-Turkish populations.

> 3) What are the representations of the police held by members of Hackney local BME communities?

> 4) Does the use of social representations of the police tie in with (1) ideas about power and subordination or (2) group identity processes of inclusion and exclusion?

I also interviewed representatives of police and other agencies to gather their perspectives on their working relationships with local BME communities:

5) What is the role of community level mechanisms of collective efficacy in facilitating working relationships with the police?

Following the qualitative stage, I shifted to studying young people's evaluations of the police to shed light on the process of *legal socialisation*. Hackney secondary schools were a point of contact for the police and younger members of the community at the time of data collection, which included observations, focus groups and school surveys. Since 2002, the police have been placed in selected secondary schools under the Safer School Partnerships (SSPs).[2] This stage was designed to explore individual-level explanations for the relationships with the police by addressing the following questions:

6) What factors (socio-demographic background including ethnic origin and migration background, types of contact with school police and contact satisfaction, fear of crime, offending and victimisation, and social capital) explain young people's general and specific attitudes to the police in Hackney secondary schools and Hackney neighbourhoods?

7) What is the relationship between general (overall judgement) and specific attitudes (extend across various theoretical constructs) to the police in school?

The leading argument in the literature on adult attitudes toward the police is based on the Tyler's (1993) socio-psychological framework, which argues that fair treatment by the police leads to improved attitudes and results in citizens' cooperative behaviours.

8) What is the relationship between perceptions of fair treatment by the police and compliance and inclination to cooperate with them?

[2] SSPs will be discussed in Chapter 5.

1.5 Dissertation structure

The remaining six chapters of the dissertation are organised as follows:

In Chapter 2, I review the literature on contextual and individual-level explanations for understanding young people's attitudes toward the police.

Chapter 3 presents the analytical outlook I adopt to examine the research questions and discusses my research methods; I examine empirical and ethical considerations in studying attitudes, ethnic communities and youth.

I use Chapter 4 to describe the Borough of Hackney in detail, emphasising the significance of 'city' and urban transformation. I discuss the findings of the qualitative investigation by addressing ethnic communities' relationships with the police and the perceptions of community leaders, the police and key agencies.

Then, I outline the SSP in Chapter 5. I provide profiles of the pupils who participated in the survey and their general attitudes toward the police in their schools and neighbourhoods. These attitudes are explained with respect to demographics, type of contact, association with crime, and perceived neighbourhood, school safety and level of social capital.

On the other hand, Chapter 6 focuses on specific attitudes toward the police held by young people in participating schools. I also explore the relationship between specific and general attitudes. These attitudes are explained with respect to demographics, type of contact, association with crime, and perceived neighbourhood, school safety and level of social capital.

Finally, I reconsider the original questions of the study and highlight the contributions made by understanding community leaders' and young peoples' attitudes toward the police in an ethnically diverse locality. The latter part of the chapter highlights the theoretical, practical and policy implications of the findings and suggests avenues for future research.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This study draws on the literatures of criminology, social psychology, urban sociology and developmental psychology in order to understand how cultural, contextual and individual attributes contribute to relationships between ethnic minorities and the police (and attitudes toward them). The selection reflects this multi-disciplinary study. While it may not be exhaustive, it covers a range of studies and approaches chosen for their importance to the study's theoretical and empirical interests.

2.1 Chapter overview

The formation of attitudes toward authority and the internalisation of law-related norms are part of the process of socialisation, starting early in life and developing over time to have an impact on decisions regarding rule-observance and attitudes toward legal authority. This study is concerned with the attitudes of BME adolescents underpinning the legal socialisation process. The review of common correlates will indicate whether 1) perceptions of the law and legal norms or 2) attitudes toward the police (including aspects such as trust and confidence, and inclination to obey and cooperate with the police) are the dependent variables, as both are key aspects of legal socialisation.

This review focuses on contextual and individual-level explanations for understanding young people's attitudes toward the police. This integrative framework adopts Bronfenbrenner's (1979) proposal that the individual is nested within different settings that shape development[3]. Bronfenbrenner (1979) suggests that developmental change takes place concurrently in two domains: perception and action**.** The study incorporates personal characteristics with ecological explanations to understand legal attitudes amongst young people within the framework of legal socialisation. However, a changing understanding of the legal world cannot be observed directly, so research efforts focus on investigating perceptions of the police.

[3] Micro-system: the complex of interrelation within the individual's immediate setting. Meso-system: interconnectedness between settings embedding the individual. Exo-system: the individual does not directly engage in, but it may have an effect on what happens in the immediate environment. (e.g. neighbourhood-community context) Macro-system: overarching patterns in ideology and organisation of the social institutions common to a particular culture (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

The literature has suggested that various components influence individuals' relationships and attitudes toward the police: 1) social/cultural processes occurring at the neighbourhood level (e.g. legal cynicism, collective efficacy); 2) demographics: crime levels, area deprivation, and other characteristics affected by the area of residency (i.e. police visibility, fear of crime and perceived disorder); 3) contact history (frequency, quality, offending and victimisation); 4) individual characteristics such as age, gender, and racial and ethnic background; and 5) social networks (referring to support, family and ethnic network). These will be reviewed in this chapter.

I have drawn on literature from both the UK and the US with the understanding that these contexts are not always comparable because of political, ideological and economic differences. Official UK research draws mainly on one resource—BCS data (now the CSEW[4])—although qualitative studies are to be found as well. UK-based research tends to focus on confidence and trust in the police, whereas US research questions usually look more broadly at general attitudes toward the police (Kautt, 2011). Clearly, there are fundamental differences in political ideology, explicit, implicit and structural racism between these two countries. However, there are sufficient commonalities to allow for transfer of knowledge.

2.2 Legal socialisation

There are few references to legal socialisation as a stand-alone field of study. This field of inquiry sometimes seems to overlap with moral development and legal reasoning; however, the fields are not interchangeable. 'Legal socialisation', a term coined by Tapp (1971), refers to the growth of the individual into the legal system, and the development of an individual's orientation toward the law. In addition to the internalisation of legal norms and the understanding of compliant behaviours, ideas about how one might access the legal system are also internalised in this process (Levine & Tapp, 1977). Legal socialisation evolves during childhood and adolescence and occurs thorough interactions with legal personnel and acquired knowledge (Lind & Tyler, 1988). Internal factors, such as cognitive ability (i.e. abstract thinking,

[4] Initially the survey covered England, Wales and Scotland and was called the British Crime Survey, but now the survey is restricted to England and Wales.

comprehension of complex situations, and understanding of consequences) and psychological maturity (Levine & Tapp, 1977) were the focus of early theorising about legal socialisation.

Earlier legal socialisation scholars emphasised the role of cognitive-developmental (age-related) factors in explaining the legal socialisation process, referring to the rational basis (or legal reasoning) leading to compliance as the outcome of the process. Tapp's model of legal socialisation draws heavily on Kohlberg's (1976) ideas about moral development. Refining Piaget's (1932) developmental stages, Kohlberg (1976) describes the individual as progressing from one stage of moral reasoning to another. The child moves from the concrete to an abstract basis of reasoning. Throughout development, the individual gradually takes account of the rights and feelings of other people and of moral principles.

Tapp's (1976) model of legal socialisation delineates a progression from punishment avoidance (instrumental motivation) through upholding the rules to recognition of the basis upon which the law is founded, i.e. from coercive to consensual acceptance of the law. Another aspect of legal development, according to Tapp, is the reduced personalisation of authority figures and their functions. However, the model fails to show that adults are able to reach higher-order moral reasoning (Irvin, 1979). Moreover, the early cognitive approach seems to neglect the wider context of rules and laws acquired by individuals as they develop. Specifically, as individuals grow older they have more opportunities for direct experiences with the law and those who deliver it, and they incorporate a symbolic understanding of the police. Since this input is context-dependent, claims for the universality of the legal-socialisation process seem to be unrealistic.

In their search for a more comprehensive model of legal socialisation, Levine and Tapp (1977) advanced Tapp's original theory by adding that both the cognitive-developmental and the social learning models offer useful perspectives for understanding legal development. Legal socialisation implies social influences, and once the individual is taken out of context a comprehensive understanding of this process is hampered. Later research shows that contextual factors such as the environment and social landscape play a key role in the legal socialisation process (Cohn & White, 1990; Tyler & Fagan, 2005). Next, I will review ideas about legal values and norms, together with attitudes toward the police within the framework of procedural justice approach.

2.2.1 Law-related norms and legal socialisation

Rule-based systems that produce social norms and regulatory behaviours are all around us, and legal norms are encoded within multiple social institutions (e.g. family, school, community) and not restricted to legal ones. The neighbourhood and local community—Bronfenbrenner's exo-system—provide a rich ecological system in which a person's legal orientation is developed. Social bonds and embeddedness in pro-social networks promote the development of normative legal orientation to support the legal system, comply with laws, and cooperate with legal authority (Fagan & Tyler, 2005; Jackson *et al*., 2013; Piquero *et al*., 2014; Trinkner & Cohn, 2014; Tyler & Fagan, 2008).

Similarly, legal cynicism is a norm-based cultural mechanism, leading to different outcomes. The term 'legal cynicism' refers to a cultural frame in which people perceive the law as illegitimate, unresponsive, and ill equipped to ensure public safety (Kirk & Papachristos, 2011:1190). Not accepting social norms breeds cynicism toward the law and can be manifested in non-observance of rules. Individuals with a cynical attitude to the law engage in higher levels of criminal and deviant behaviour (Carr, Napolitano, & Keating, 2007; Gau & Brunson, 2010; Kirk et al., 2012). These norms are driven by social environment and experience, and are more prevalent in socially disadvantaged areas (Higgins *et al.*, 2010). This framework is perceived as a cultural adaptation to persistent isolation and alienation from societal institutions (Kirk & Matsuda 2011; Kirk & Papachristos 2011). The developmental aspect of legal cynicism has not been given enough theoretical attention, even though it is clear that developmental processes underpin it (Nivett *et al.*, 2015). Neighbourhood-level effects such as concentrated disadvantage and 'collective efficacy' that have shown association with the development of legal cynicism will be discussed below.

2.2.2 Attitudes toward authorities and legal socialisation

Fagan and Tyler (2005) devised a theory emphasising that the nature of contact between the police and individuals matters in terms of the message delivered to those on the receiving end. This 'Procedural Justice' theory gained support from numerous scholars (Fagan & Piquero, 2007; Piquero *et al.*, 2005). Fagan and Tyler (2005) argue that procedurally just behaviour and well-handled interactions by legal authorities drive individuals to believe in the legitimacy of those authorities. Legitimacy has been conceptualised in terms of one's trust and obligation toward an authority figure or institution. This can lead to the desired outcomes of compliance (Sherman, 1993) and a greater inclination to cooperate (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003), and to the internalisation of law-related norms and the development of positive orientations toward

authority (Fagan & Tyler, 2005).

While distributive justice concerns the outcome of the encounter, procedural justice is all about process. Procedurally just behaviour denotes impartiality in the treatment given by the police (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler, 2000). It has been argued that procedural justice is a key predictor of whether individuals will perceive authorities as legitimate (Tyler, 2006a, 2006b) or be cynical about rules and laws (Sherman, 1993; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998). However, the direction of causality is uncertain.

The relationship between the procedural justice approach (leading to legitimatisation of the police) and orientation toward the law (compliance or law-breaking) is unclear. Some scholars contend these are two distinct constructs (Kirk & Matsuda, 2011; Kirk & Papachristos, 2011; Reisig, Wolfe & Holtfreter, 2011) while others claim that these are interlinked and mutually reinforced (Trinkner & Cohn, 2014; Trinkner & Tyler, 2016). It would not be surprising if appreciation of law and order becomes cemented (through social institutions such as the family and school) while at the same time negative attitudes to the police are formulated, or vice versa. Obeying the law and accepting authority are not interchangeable aspects of legal socialisation. While this study touches on legal cynicism and explores attitudes toward the police held by ethnic minority groups, it does not directly investigate the relationship between the two constructs.

2.3 Attitudes toward the police: Contextual explanations[5]

Some evidence posits that once generalised trust between people is present, demographic differences will not have such a significant influence upon attitudes toward the police (Cao *et al.*, 1996; Jackson *et al.*, 2009). While there is evidence that disadvantaged communities with structural and historical inequalities tend not to develop strategies or use assets (e.g. social capital) effectively to foster community well-being (Saegert *et al.*, 2002), resulting in diminishing trust, there is also evidence to the contrary. Sturgis *et al.*'s (2011) survey in London found that ethnic diversity was positively related to the perceived social cohesion of residents,

[5] The Crime Survey for England and Wales (previously BCS) was extended to ask 10- to 15-year-olds about levels of crime and views on crime-related issues. Previously, the BCS had been restricted to those aged 16 years and older. Findings drawing on BCS 2009/10 interviews (and supplementary materials) with children aged 10-15 are presented when discussing offending and victimisation.

and the strongest relationship between diversity and perceived cohesion was found in the most economically deprived neighbourhoods. The authors attributed their findings to greater social contact between members of different ethnic groups in those locales. The fact that some minorities co-locate allows for more interaction and exchange and generates social capital that can explain some of the variation. In a study using CSEW data, Bradford *et al.* (2017) found that trust in the police is higher in neighbourhoods with more immigrants. This contrasts with Putnam's claim of a direct association between ethnic diversity and diminished trust (2007). It is difficult to compare and contrast the demographic composition of minorities and related social outcomes (e.g. level of trust) between England and Wales and the USA, not only due to the different political climate but also because of different histories of race relations and policing; however, some parallels can nevertheless be drawn.

In the UK, Jackson *et al.* (2009) found that those who perceive a lack of neighbourhood cohesion had lower confidence in the police. Cao *et al.* (1996) focused on a US race and community context to explain police relationships and suggested that confidence in neighbours breeds confidence and trust in the police regardless of place, class or colour or other characteristics:

> … neighbourhood social integration may provide a supportive context in which residents are reminded that they are not isolated individuals cut off from the larger social order. In short, social bonds may encourage their identification with and positive evaluation of formal institutional arrangements (Cao *et al.*, 1996:13).

While original in introducing contextual factors, this study had some major drawbacks. The operationalisation of legal attitudes was drawn from subscribing to a non-dynamic and conservative philosophy that includes only two racial categories: white and non-white.

MacDonald and Stokes (2006) used the Social Capital Benchmark Survey of over 3000 participants. They found that social capital was a predictor of trust in the police in the general community but not for Black people. African-Americans were less trusting of the police, independent of their perceived level of social capital. However, this research did not distinguish between bonding and bridging social capital. Examination of the function of bridging and bonding social capital in generating trusting attitudes toward external agencies, such as the police, is almost non-existent in the literature, yet it is central to the present thesis through the examination of the community representatives' relationships with the police.

A theoretical account by Hawdon (2008) is helpful in understanding types of social capital and how they relate to trust in the police. Hawdon regards social capital as an ecological characteristic or a feature of the social structure of a neighbourhood or a community. Following Brehm and Rahn (1997) and Uslaner (2000), Hawdon also distinguishes between two types of social capital—namely, bonding and bridging—and suggests that these have different effects in relation to the police, viewing neighbourhood policing styles through social capital lenses. 'Bonding social capital' refers to the close relationships one has with one's immediate social circle. This type of capital strongly influences levels of trust; as such, it is proposed that police behaviour will have a direct influence on attitudes of trust toward individual police officers and perceptions of procedural justice but little influence on police legitimacy. 'Bridging social capital' refers to what extends beyond that immediate circle (acquaintances, other people with whom one comes in contact) and has greater impact on people's appreciation of greater social order. Hawdon proposes that it has a direct influence on perceptions of police legitimacy and an indirect influence on perceptions of procedural justice and willingness to cooperate with the police. He argues that legitimacy and trust in the police are personal beliefs that are conceptually different and reflect neighbourhood characteristics of bridging (generalised) and bonding (person-specific) capital.

2.3.1 Collective efficacy

Collective efficacy is a mediating mechanism that facilitates informal social control and teaches self-regulatory behaviours at the community level as well as enabling a community's working relationships with the police. Situated at the community's organisational level, it promotes social order building on individual and collective attributes. This theory proposes that trust and cohesion (represented and cultivated by social ties), together with shared expectations, are imperative for neighbourhood social control and collective action (Sampson *et al.*, 1997; Morenoff *et al.*, 2001). More recently, Sampson (2012:169) has added that, irrespective of the level of residential mobility, collective efficacy is stable over the years and across the full spectrum of racial composition and ethnic diversity.

This theory emphasises the mediating role of local organisations and networks in facilitating social control. Although research continues to show that structural disadvantage is related to higher crime, collective efficacy theory makes a unique leap in understanding the opposite; how — in an area affected by endemic inequality — crime can be kept at bay and community relationships with the police can be successful in a mutually beneficial way. The relationship

between police and ethnic communities through the lens of collective efficacy is seldom investigated within the context of legal socialisation.

While there is evidence to support the role of collective efficacy in reducing crime levels (Sampson *et al.,* 1997; Sampson *et al.,* 2002; Morenoff et al., 2001; Pratt & Cullen, 2005), there is little evidence in areas of concentrated disadvantage and high residential mobility (Sampson, 2012) to show how collective efficacy can improve relationships with and confidence in the police. Sampson (2004) provides an example of how community-police relationships can be improved through collective efficacy. Black clergy in inner city Boston became mediators between the police and their community in dealing with youth violence in the community. In 1992, a group of activist black clergy formed The Ten Point Coalition after the gang invasion of a Boston Baptist church (Winship *et al*., 2008). They drafted the Coalition to formulate their vision of their community's relationship with the Boston police. To be successful in this mission, it was essential that they had legitimacy in the eyes of the community. It also required the police to agree to such a trial and be respectful of the agreement. Berrien and Winship (2002) suggest that this working partnership was pivotal in reducing youth violence during the 1990s. The example demonstrates that collective efficacy, together with community leadership that is able to recognise community problems and general openness to change, could bring about improvement.

The success of this kind of relationship depends on structural preconditions. Organisational capacity and legitimacy are important to activate informal social control, which builds on social cohesion and trust within and across communities. Density (as in number) of organisations is not a prerequisite to generate an action (Morenoff *et al.*, 2001). Bursik and Grasmick (1993) claim that what is important is an organisational capacity to communicate, negotiate and obtain external resources (such as cooperation with local law enforcement agencies) and to maintain social control and stability. The police goal, on the other hand, is to encourage communities to take ownership, to deal with local problems and to facilitate as required.

Collective efficacy also mediates the association between legal cynicism and the (under-) reporting of crime. Kirk and Matsuda (2011) found that offenders are less likely to be arrested after a crime in legal-cynical neighbourhoods, and collective efficacy mediates the association between legal cynicism and the rate of arrest (i.e. residents of highly cynical neighbourhoods are less likely to engage in positive aspects of collective efficacy). Kirk and Matsuda (2011)

emphasise the idea that perceptions of the law and legal institutions are collectively shared in a community and are a powerful drive in predicting community levels of engagement with the police and consequently the rate of arrest. Kirk and Papachristos (2011) found that legal cynicism, socially learnt, spreads vicariously as people communicate news of injustice and racial bias throughout the neighbourhood.

There is also evidence of the reverse relationship: that satisfaction with the police can improve community social control (Sampson & Graif, 2009; Silver & Miller, 2004). Sampson (2012) suggested that "…collective efficacy goes further to argue that repeated interactions, observations of interactions, and an awareness of potential interactions that could be invoked all established shared norms (a sense of 'us', which forms cultural codes of behaviour) beyond the strong ties among friends and kin" (2012:153). The internalisation of shared norms constitutes one aspect of the legal socialisation process.

The literature on collective efficacy focuses mainly on neighbourhoods and overlooks three important aspects: (1) how ethnic communities located in small geographical areas practice collective efficacy; (2) how collective efficacy facilitates a working relationship with local police; and (3) how collective efficacy relates to legal socialisation.

2.3.2 Perceived disorder and fear of crime

Evidence shows that neighbourhood conditions, including incivilities and social and physical disorder have a small but substantive effect on attitudes toward the police (Reisig & Parks, 2000). Those who feel less safe tend to have more negative attitudes toward the police (Cracia & Cao, 2005; Payne & Gainey, 2007). One exception here is a US study conducted in Cincinnati, which refutes ecological explanations, including perceived disorder, for differences in attitude toward the police, specifically about police impartiality (MacDonald *et al.*, 2007). The authors found that black and white residents with similar individual characteristics and perceptions of the environment (fear of crime and perceived disorder included) maintain differing views of police impartiality. While the authors did not provide any information about the police themselves (such as racial/ethnic background, patrol type — lone officer or pairs) or contact, and the ethnic categories are limited (Black, White and Other), the study provides evidence of attitudinal differences between Blacks and non-Blacks. Being Black has a greater influence than neighbourhood conditions on attitudes toward the police. However, key attributes of contact — mode, frequency and quality — are missing.

In a UK study, Jackson *et al.* (2009) found that fear of crime has a relatively small effect on confidence in the police. Using BCS time-series data 1994-2006 (n = 80,270), they found that when concerns about society in general (e.g. disorder, lack of social cohesion and informal social control) were taken into account, the influence of fear of crime decreased (see also Jackson & Sunshine, 2007; Jackson & Bradford, 2009). Jackson and Bradford (2009) embarked on a more comprehensive analysis, using data from the 2003/2004 British Crime Survey (BCS) and the 2006/2007 Metropolitan Police Safer Neighbourhoods Survey (SNS) to explore what role fear of crime plays in confidence in the police. Using path analysis, they found that living in a deprived area is associated with concerns about social cohesion, disorder and collective efficacy, which drive confidence in the police more than 'raw' fear of crime. While these are important conclusions, it is difficult to disentangle the true contribution of each variable when data are not longitudinal.

There was scholarly ambiguity about the direction of the relationship between fear of crime and confidence in the police (Skogan, 2009), when competing explanations addressing the causality of this relationship were tested. A large corpus of literature considers confidence in the police as the independent variable and fear of or worry about crime as the dependent variable: if people are confident in the police they will worry less about crime. This 'reassurance model' gave birth to numerous community policing projects and partnerships in the UK and the US, and found strong scholarly and policy support in the UK (Hough 2003, 2007a, 2007b; Millie & Herrington, 2005; Innes, 2006; Crawford, 2007). The alternative 'accountability model' treats confidence in the police as the dependent variable and neighbourhood conditions or worry about crime as the independent variable. The latter model is studied in the present investigation.

The literature on adult attitudes shows that areas perceived as affected by high or serious crime and where fear of crime is high have lower confidence in the police (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002, 2004; Weitzer *et al.,* 2008; Maxson *et al.,* 2003). Overall fear of crime seems to exert only a small influence on attitudes to the police among adults. Women report higher levels of fear of crime than men (Fox *et al.,* 2009; Innes, 2006), as do elderly people (Skogan, 1978), which may reflect physical vulnerability. There is a scarcity of knowledge regarding young children

and fear of crime, even though they are at higher risk of victimisation due to their frequent unsupervised use of public spaces[6].

2.4 Attitudes toward the police: Socio-demographic determinants

The following socio-demographic determinates are now reviewed: age and developmental stage, gender, race and ethnicity, and generational status.

2.4.1 Age and developmental stage

Research on attitudes toward the police consistently shows that young people hold more negative attitudes than older people across nations (UK: Loader, 1996; US: Leiber, Nalla, & Farnworth, 1998; Hurst & Frank, 2000; Hurst *et al.*, 2000; Taylor *et al.,* 2001; Hurst *et al.*, 2005; Nihart *et al.,* 2005; Brunson & Miller, 2006). The early adolescent period is associated with increasingly negative attitudes toward the police. Fagan and Tyler (2005) and Schuck (2013) similarly found that attitudes to the police are more positive at younger ages (10 to 13 years old), declining thereafter before stabilizing as young people reach the ages of 14-16. Fagan and Tyler (2005) postulated this effect was due to greater levels of moral disengagement (the process of detachment and moral treatment of others) and underdeveloped moral controls amongst the younger groups during the early adolescence period.

Young people have more opportunities for contact with police and have a higher risk of both offending and victimisation compared to adults; specifically they are at the age of legal responsibility and new experiences of driving, drinking, and underage sex and therefore younger people are more likely to come into contact with the police. In addition, they have 'soft' interactions with the police, such as with police officers in school settings. Contact with the police gives rise to ideas about rights and duties, which is accompanied by growing legal reasoning capacities (Tapp & Kohlberg, 1971). Access to information related to legal authorities circulated in families, communities, neighbourhoods, networks and media also have an impact on legal socialisation processes, particularly attitudes toward the police.

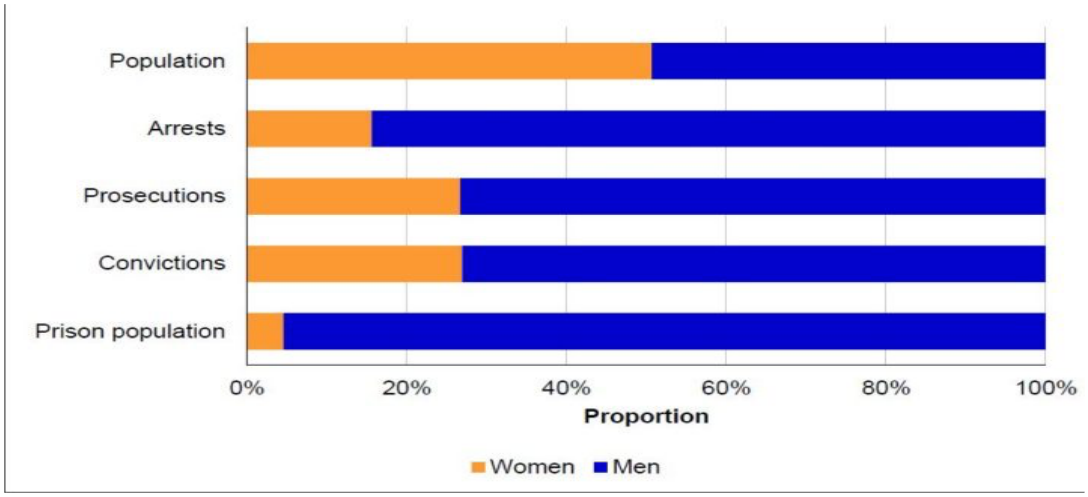
2.4.2 Gender

Females regardless of age are consistently less likely than males to have experiences (whether as offenders or as victims) with the police. Fewer than a quarter of those given a penalty notice

[6] 'Worry about crime' questions were introduced only to the parent subsample of CSEW (2010-2012) respondents (Sindall *et al.*, 2016).

for disorder (22%) or caution (24%) were female, and in England and Wales only a small proportion of suspects or offenders represented within the CJS are females (Office of National Statistics, 2016).

Figure 2.1 Proportion of men and women throughout the CJS in 2015



Source: ONS (2016)

However, there is no conclusive evidence for gender differences on attitudes toward the police in adolescence. This is consistent with the adult literature regarding attitudes toward the police. In their US exploration of the importance of subculture and community ties, Brick *et al.* (2009) found that young males and females held similar attitudes toward the police once other variables were controlled. Similarly, Hurst's (2007) examination of US rural youth found no gender differences in attitudes toward the police, and neither did other earlier scholars (Griffiths & Winfree, 1982; Taylor *et al.,* 2001; Brown & Benedict 2002). Some research suggests that girls held more positive attitudes toward the police than boys (Hurst *et al.,* 2000; Apple & O'Brien, 1983;Brandt & Markus, 2000; Taylor *et al.,* 2001). Other studies reached the opposite conclusion: that girls were more negative in their rating of the police (Hurst & Frank, 2000; Thomas & Hyman, 1977).

When Hurst *et al.* (2005) explored US girls' attitudes toward the police, they found that Black girls were more negative than white girls in their assessments of the police. Despite the fact that girls were less likely to have direct contact with the police, they were more likely to draw on vicarious experiences, contributing to their evaluation of the police. This suggests the existence of an interaction between gender and race affecting attitudes toward the police, and it is explored in this analysis.

2.4.3 Race and ethnicity

Across time and place, race and ethnicity (defined in Chapter 1) are amongst the most often researched correlates and predictors of attitudes toward the police. This section presents existing data on fixed census categories as opposed to social groups (i.e. affiliation with a social group and associated social identity) and how different race and ethnicity measures are manifest in relationships with and attitudes toward the police. In both the US and England and Wales, most research related to ethnicity and race concerns Black minorities and the police and, to a lesser degree, other minorities (e.g. Hispanics in the US and Asians in England and Wales), while nearly ignoring other ethnic groups or aggregating them into categories that represent them inaccurately.

In earlier waves of the BCS, Black respondents held more negative attitudes toward the police than White respondents (Skogan 1990, 1994; Spencer & Hough, 2000; Clancy *et al.,* 2001). Later waves of the BCS present an interesting and somewhat counterintuitive picture of more positive attitudes toward local police held by Black and Asian minorities than by Whites (Salisbury & Upson, 2004; Allen *et al.*, 2005; Allen *et al.*, 2006; Jansson *et al.,* 2007; Smith, 2009). Ethnic minorities' improved attitudes and perceptions of the police may reflect methodological limitations, such as probability and sampling bias.[7] They may also reflect a generational inconsistency: new arrivals and the first generation maintain more favourable attitudes toward the police than subsequent generations do. Nevertheless, BCS findings could reflect improved attitudes resulting from the successful application of a Home Office strategy directed at those sectors, or contribute to rising prosperity due to the enhanced educational achievement of poor Black males compared to poor White males.[8] Later surveys (including the CSEW 2015) and qualitative studies (Alexander, 1996; Norman, 2009) present a more complex picture.

Webb and Marshall (1995) conducted research on the relative importance of race and ethnicity on citizens' attitudes to the police. They gathered data from Black, Hispanic and White respondents living in Omaha, Nebraska, including individual- and contextual-level variables. Their analysis revealed that race was the strongest predictor of citizens' attitudes toward the

[7] The BCS low response rate in inner-city areas was remedied in a booster sample to recruit more participants from ethnic minorities and resulted in class selectiveness. The booster sample was obtained using focused enumeration which meant sampling adjacent addresses to those selected for people from BME groups (Grant *et al.,* 2006).

[8] Poor White British children leave school with lower qualifications than equally poor children in any other major ethnic group (House of Commons, Educational Committee Report, 2014).

police. However they included only three age and race/ethnicity categories, and contact with the police included only two items: whether a respondent called for service, and whether or not a respondent had been stopped by police. Webb and Marshall failed to include information on offending and victimisation histories and detailed contact information. Weitzer and Tuch (2004) used data from a national survey (n = 1,792). The survey over-sampled African Americans and Hispanics and was original in including questions on vicarious contact with the police. They found that race differences were statistically significant after controlling for other variables. Blacks and Hispanics were more likely to have less favourable views about the police, especially when it came to discussing issues of police conduct. Other US studies present a similar trend. Black respondents held more negative attitudes toward the police (Reisig & Parks, 2000; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998), while Hispanic attitudes to the police in their neighbourhoods were more equivocal (Carter, 1985; Taylor *et al.,* 2001; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004).

Qualitative studies by Brunson and Miller (2006) in the US, and Sharp and Atherton (2007) in England and Wales investigated opinions of young men from ethnic minority groups and their experiences with the police. The majority of their participants reported experiencing 'mistreatment' (Brunson & Miller, 2006) and harassment (Sharp & Atherton, 2007) by the police, and felt that such high levels of police suspicion were unjustified. Both studies identify the underlying theme of perceived police racism. Following the 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001 in the USA and the 7 July 2005 attack in London, some sections of the South Asian communities in the USA and UK began to feel criminalised by the police. US research presents a consistent trend of unfavourable attitudes toward the police held by Black people. This might be attributed to the different traditions of race relations and manifestations of institutional discrimination and fewer policy safeguards than in the UK.

2.4.4 Immigration history across generations

UK and US studies incorporating generational status usually reach similar conclusions regarding generational differences when predicting involvement in crime. First-generation and immigrant (foreign-born) Latinos in the US exhibit low levels of involvement in crime and higher regard for law-enforcement agents (Correia, 2010); however, second-generation immigrants exhibit the same level of offending as native-born counterparts (Bersani, 2012; Sampson, 2008). A similar trend is found in the UK, although this profile does not fit all immigrant communities (Smith, 2005).

When it comes to predicting attitudes, findings tend to be similar to the above. In Britain, Heath *et al.* (2011) found that levels of trust in the police were similar across native-born and first-generation immigrant populations, but significantly lower among second-generation immigrants from ethnic-minority groups. A cross-national European study (Röder & Mühlau, 2012), a study in Denmark (Nannestad *et al*., 2014), and a study in Seattle (Davis & Hendricks, 2007), all show that migrant populations tend to have higher-level trust in the police than non-migrant populations. Only a few studies showed the contrary (Piatkowska, 2015; Davis & Mateu-Gelabert, 2000).

Smith (1997) suggests that second-generation immigrants (particularly Afro-Caribbean immigrants) may experience generational disillusion stemming from confronting the realities of failed integration, discrimination and racism. His thesis considers adults while trying to find an explanation for the high level of Afro- Caribbean involvement in the CJS. He recognises migrant communities' different adaptation strategies and different levels of societal acceptance toward the different migrant communities. Although enriching research, generational status can be misleading if all multi-ethnic immigrants, both first and subsequent generations, are grouped in the same categories. First-generation Blacks and first-generation Asians are dissimilar in their attitudes toward the police and, more specifically, in their tolerance of discriminatory treatment by the police. Generational status should take into account the context: reasons for immigration, country of origin, backgrounds, language proficiency and trajectories of integration into their host society (Smith, 2005). Other relevant variables such as contact with the police, victimisation and offending histories, should be taken in account, given the possible relationship between migration status and crime.

To summarise: there is consistency in findings regarding age differences on attitudes to the police across the board. Young people differ in their orientation to the police relative to older people; they generally hold more negative attitudes than adults do. Specifically, younger adolescents are more positive, mid-adolescents hold the most negative views, while late adolescents' views become more positive and track adults' views as they grow older and follow the legal socialisation pathway. Gender differences in attitude toward the police are subtler than age differences, and this trend is similar in both UK- and US-based research. Second-generation immigrants from ethnic minority groups tend to hold more negative attitudes toward the police than earlier generations. Across the board, race and ethnicity present a direct link to attitudes to

the police, with Afro-Caribbean respondents holding more negative attitudes than other minority groups.

2.5 Attitudes toward the police: Experience of crime and policing

2.5.1 Delinquency

Involvement in crime is a key factor of contact with and attitudes toward the police. Early onset of delinquency is most likely to begin between the ages of 13 and 15 (Graham & Bowling, 1995; Moffitt, 2001). Available data on the relationship of delinquency and attitudes to the police in young people can be divided into two inquiries: (1) self-reported delinquent behaviour in a non-delinquent population; (2) self-reported delinquent behaviour of delinquent population (delinquent subculture and convicted offenders).

Self-reported delinquent behaviour in non-delinquent populations

Gibson (1967) conducted a study in England with 94 boys (age 15) from grammar schools. The method of data collection was of an individually administered test battery. He found that those who admitted an offence were more likely to hold negative attitudes of the police. Datesman (1982) conducted a study in Delaware that examined the relative effects of official and self-reported adolescent delinquency on attitudes toward the justice system in general (including the police). He found a stronger relationship between self-reported delinquency and negative youth's attitudes toward the justice system than between official delinquency and these attitudes. Engagement in unlawful activities was shown to have a negative effect on respondents' overall assessment of the police (Chow, 2011), as well as a negative effect on specific evaluations (Lee *et al.,* 2010). Students who were involved in greater deviance reported more negative views of police instructors of prevention programmes (Hammond *et al.*, 2008). While it is important to examine delinquency and how it relates to attitudes to the police, it is important to acknowledge its transitory state. Most of those who commit minor crimes eventually mature and become law-abiding adults (Moffitt, 2007).

Self-reported delinquent behaviour in delinquent populations

The study of young offenders and their attitudes to legal representatives more often focuses on court or detention staff (and treatment by them) than to the police. There is evidence that a delinquent subculture (i.e. a lifestyle involving network associations) has a relationship with more frequent contact with the police and with lower respect for the law and legal authorities

(Giordano, 1976; Lieber *et al.*, 1998). Anti-social values and beliefs (legal cynicism) are associated with anti-social behaviours and a higher likelihood of contact with the police (Guerra & Slaby, 1990; Huesmann & Guerra, 1997; Kee *et al.*, 2003) and negative attitudes associated with them. Several studies have examined delinquent subcultures and subsequent attitudes to the police as tapping into *involvement*, while many have investigated attitudes toward the police and delinquency in isolation from the networks in which delinquents are embedded. Brick *et al.* (2009) collected data (n = 1.289) from fifteen schools offering a law-related education programme in four US states. The analysis included demographics, police contact, community ties and delinquent subculture commitment variables. Results of OLS regression models showed that the greater the commitment to a delinquent network, the more negative the attitudes to the police were. This finding remained statistically significant when controlling for other factors. The community ties variable did not retain statistical significance when all other variables (specific types of police contact, subcultures, community factors, and attitudes toward the police) were included in the analysis.

The relationship between legal cynicism and offending is unclear. Kirk and Papachristos (2011) argue that legal cynicism is bred through social interactions with delinquent peers: adolescents who associate with delinquent peers are exposed to delinquent norms that reinforce legal cynicism. Farrington and Murray (2005) provide empirical evidence for the effects of parental involvement with the criminal justice system on children. Legal cynicism can be transmitted through parents' association with the CJS, although it is perhaps less common. Equally possible, adolescents who are already highly cynical may self-select into a delinquent group to embrace alienation as part of the defiance process (Nivett et al., 2015). US-based evidence indicates that for delinquent youth, race by itself explains negative attitudes toward the police (Piquero *et al.*, 2005; Leiber *et al.*; 1998; Hurst *et al.*, 2005). While these studies controlled for other influences, it was not done comprehensively and left some aspects unexamined (e.g. networks, generational status).

2.5.2 Victimisation

Research on adult victimisation suggests that experience of victimisation tends to produce more negative attitudes to the police (Homant *et al.,* 1984; Koenig, 1980; Parks, 1984). Victims' lower regard for the police is attributed to undetected cases or low rates of follow-up (Audit Commission, 2003). In England and Wales, about 70 per cent of recorded crimes are undetected (Home Office, 2013). Research conducted in the UK by Fitzgerald *et al.* (2002) found that

citizen-initiated contact resulted in lower levels of confidence in the local police if contact was tagged as negative. On the other hand, when contact is positively tagged and victims are treated with respect (i.e. feeling that they are being heard), victims are more satisfied (Tyler, 2005).

There are mixed findings regarding the relationship between victimisation in adolescence and attitudes to the police. Some studies suggest that victimisation, especially repeat victimisation, predict more negative attitudes toward the police. Hurst *et al.* (2000) found that an increased number of victimisation events was a significant predictor of less favourable overall and general attitudes to the police. Other studies have found no significant evidence of this relationship after controlling for other variables (Brick *et al.,* 2009; Cao *et al.,* 1996; Hurst *et al.,* 2005).

While minorities in England and Wales are at higher risk of victimisation than their White counterparts (Office of National Statistics, 2014), Black and Mixed race adult victims are less likely to report crimes to the police, mainly for the following reasons: the incident was trivial, there was no loss, or they believed the police could do little about it (Salisbury & Upson, 2004). Studies also show that young people tend not to inform the police. Norman (2009) added that young participants in her London qualitative study were reluctant to contact the police to report issues related to their safety or that of others, as they felt vulnerable to scrutiny and worried about being criminalised by the police. Evidence also suggests an overlap between offending and victimisation (Nacro, 2009; Haynie *et al.*, 2001), i.e. victims are more likely to be offenders, and vice versa.

2.5.3 Police visibility

Police presence is a by-product of neighbourhood conditions and cannot be separated from living in an area of high crime and disorder. Policing tactics and styles in such areas have their foundations in the 'Broken Windows' theory (Wilson & Kelling, 1982, building on the Chicago School's 'social disorganisation' theory). This approach aimed to understand social problems in light of urban decline, particularly in inner city areas where many minorities are overrepresented. It postulates that urban disorder increases crime. Therefore, areas with higher disorder ought to be better patrolled. In England and Wales, The Signal Crimes Approach (Innes, 2004a,b), closely allied to that of the 'Broken Windows' theory, has given birth to reassurance policing and highlighted the importance of police visibility.

Visibility refers to the frequency of seeing uniformed police patrolling or engaging in police activity. Police visibility differs from the raw number of police on the streets, though it derives from this (Sindall & Sturgis, 2012). Correct identification of those patrolling the streets is a concern, too, in visibility studies (Rowland & Coupe, 2014). In their West Yorkshire study, Crawford *et al.* (2004) found that levels of uniform recognition 'varied significantly'. In England and Wales, younger people (16-25) are most likely to report high visibility of police foot patrols, as do respondents who are non-white (ONS, 2014). The 2012/3 CSEW data show a positive relationship between high visibility and positive ratings of the police by young people (Sindall *et al.*, 2016). On the other hand, whereas patrolling hotspots has a determinant effect on offending (Sherman, 1995), it results in a negative relationship between high-visibility police and offenders' attitudes toward them.

An increased number of police should affect confidence in the police (ONS, 2015), although not alone (Fitzgerald *et al.*, 2002; Quinton & Morris, 2008). Higher visibility, better accessibility, improved confidence in the police and reduced crime-related concerns are at the heart of the England and Wales police reform agenda called 'The National Reassurance Policing Programme' (NRPP) that examines ways to improve the methods by which the police can provide reassurance. Fielding and Innes (2006) refer to police visibility as police engaged in 'perceptual intervention' to increase public confidence.

Although it may seem obvious, it is important to note that police visibility is subject to individual awareness. Thus, it could be that while there are many police on the streets, they might not always register in memory. Likewise, with the increased diversification of the police force, it is questionable whether adults — let alone young people — are able to discriminate between different uniforms (e.g. PCSO[9] or regular police, British Transport Police, private security guards, traffic wardens, or neighbourhood wardens).

2.5.4 Police direct contact

There is relatively little attention to detail in the literature on modes of contact, whether contact is verbal, as part of deterrence efforts, police patrolling hot spots, police in vehicles, lone police or in pairs, or the police officers' ethnic background.[10]

[9] PCSO: Police Community Support Officer

[10] Exceptions exist: Wells (2007) studied the effects of police contact in three different contexts: victims of crimes, drivers involved in traffic accidents, and persons who received citations; Engel (2005) studied citizens' perceptions of police after traffic stops; in Australia Mazerolle *et al.* (2012) used a frequent police–citizen encounter involving

In England and Wales the BCS indicates a decline in public self-initiated contacts over the last two decades – from 43 per cent 1981 to only 27 per cent in 2005/6 (Jansson, 2008). There is some limited and inconclusive literature on the contact initiator and consequent attitudes. In their US-based study of attitudes to the police before and after police-citizen contact, Rosenbaum et al. (2005) found that when a citizen initiated a contact, a negative experience produced a significant negative change in attitude toward the police. When the police initiated the contact, negative experience had no effect on attitudes**.** Their reasoning was that, when expectations are low (as with police-initiated contact), attitudinal change would not follow; however, when expectations are high (for good treatment, professionalism or positive interaction with the police) but are not met, the result may be disappointment and reduced satisfaction. This is arguably often the case with victims contacting the police (Brandl & Horvath, 1991). Findings from ACPR National Survey of Community Satisfaction with Policing in Australia showed that public-initiated contacts were overwhelmingly positive (Sced, 2004). This study found more variability with police satisfaction among younger people when contact was self-initiated.

In England and Wales, being stopped by the police is consistently associated with lower levels of satisfaction than other types of contact and has been the centre of controversy, especially with regard to minorities (FitzGerald *et al.*, 2002; Bowling & Phillips, 2003; Quinton *et al.*, 2000). Fagan and Tyler (2005) claim that contact with the police at the critical time of identity development has a significant effect on young people's understanding of the legitimacy of legal authority; these interactions can form legal orientation and produce cynical views toward the law (Carr *et al*., 2007) or even shape identities (Bradford, 2014; Parmar, 2013).

2.5.5 Vicarious contact

Many people who have never had face-to-face contact with the police still hold strong opinions about them. Vicarious contact can be anything from witnessing police in action, consuming media, or simply being told police-related stories by peers and family members. The effect of vicarious contact and minority group predispositions is noted in the literature (Rosenbaum *et al.*, 2005; Burnson, 2007; Rusinko, 1978). Often treatment of ethnic (racial or religious) minorities by the police is satisfactory, but attitudes toward them are not improving. That is,

routine roadblocks and Random Breath Testing (RBT)—which tests whether or not drivers are driving whilst under the influence of alcohol —as the experimental point of police–citizen engagement.

quality of contact with the police is limited in explaining racial and ethnic differences in attitudes. As Leiber *et al.* stated, "attitudes to the police do not develop simply as a function of actual contacts with the police" (1998:169).

In their attitudinal study carried out in Chicago, Rosenbaum *et al.* (2005) explored White, Hispanic and African American attitudes before and after contact with the police. They found that ethnic minorities draw more on the experiences of family and friends than on the mass media to gather information about the police compared with their White counterparts, who rely mainly on the mass media. They also found that initial negative attitudes (i.e. predispositions) were predictive of negative encounters for minorities, mainly for African-Americans, but not for Whites. Burnson's qualitative work (2007) emphasises the importance of second-hand accounts. The majority of participants had heard more about police misconduct than had actually experienced it. Vicarious contact contributes to the cumulative experience of discrimination and can therefore explain some of the variability in attitudes between ethnicities and races.

> Experiences with serious discrimination not only are very painful and stressful in the immediate situation and aftermath but also have a cumulative impact on particular individuals, their families and their communities. (Feagin & Sikes, 1994:16)

There is evidence of negative views of the police held by those living in post-colonial communities that draw on collective ideas emanating from the past. Tankebe (2009), who researched attitudes toward police in Ghana, suggested that the public's alienation from the Ghanaian police could be traced to the colonial history of the police. Policing in Ghana during colonial and military rule was characterised by abuse, violence, intimidation, and widespread corruption (*ibid.*:1271). Tankebe thus calls for putting the current understanding of police-public relations into historical context. However, it is over sixty years since Ghana's independence and contemporary explanations attribute negative attitudes to more recent police corruption than to colonial police tactics.

Regardless of their accuracy, these second-hand experiences are powerful (Weitzer, 2002; Gallagher *et al.*, 2001) and can magnify the interpretation of direct experience (Rosenbaum *et al.*, 2005; Weitzer, 2000; Weitzer, 2002). Rosenbaum *et al.* (2005) found that vicarious experience had a greater effect on attitudes toward police (particularly among African-American respondents) than a later direct experience. This experience also helped to form

respondents' long-term attitudes toward the police. The findings revealed diversity in how different ethnic minorities obtained information on vicarious experience with the police, and this is perhaps related to community structure, level of cohesion, and modes of information sharing within the community (through oral communication, written communication, family, or friends). While I acknowledge that nowadays most young people also obtain information through social media, I did not collect information on modes of communication for this dissertation.

To summarise, experiencing crime and policing exerts strong effects on attitudes toward the police. When it comes to contact or secondary contact with members of a minority group, I must consider the historical context, political context and policing styles (e.g. armed or unarmed, policing by consent). Participants in the present study have various backgrounds, and some are from countries that were not colonised by the British Empire.

2.6 Attitudes toward the police: Social bonds

Social bonds operate by generating a regulatory system, reinforcing predictability and producing trust. Starting early in infancy, social bonds control behaviour both directly and indirectly. Hirschi (1969) theorised social bonds as four elements that induce people to comply with the law: 1) *attachment* refers to psychological affection and connection to others, such as family members and friends; 2) *commitment* refers to gains and losses by self-investment one has in conventional society and the risks one takes when engaging in anti-social behaviour (potential consequences such as reputation or sanctions); 3) *involvement* refers to the resources dedicated to conventional activities; 4) *belief* refers to the moral validity of society and related conventional behaviour indicated by society at large (such as obeying legal rules). Hirschi (1969) suggested that people refrain from crime because of their social capital: through bonds to pro-social networks and institutions, people develop pro-social values. Once an individual's bond to society is weakened or broken, anti-social behaviours and delinquent acts are more likely to result.

Specific to the discipline of criminology, age-graded social control theory (Sampson & Laub, 2005) contends that social embeddedness explains variation in crime across a wide age-range. The organising principle is that crime is more likely to occur when an individual's bond to society is attenuated across different ages. The strongest and most consistent effects on delinquency in adolescence flow from processes of social control associated with family, school and peers (Sampson & Laub, 2005).

2.6.1 Bonds to institutions

Legal and non-legal environments that provide the moral framework in which individuals operate, such as school, the workplace or public institutions, drive legal socialisation. Existing research draws attention to the contribution made by socio-political processes (within the context of abstract institutions) during the development of trust. Using data from the European Social Survey (ESS), Allum *et al.* (2010) highlighted the connection between social and institutional trust (trust in institutions). They suggested that "…trusting fellow citizens and state institutions is something that is quite stable within individuals and is distributed amongst populations perhaps according to early experience, socialisation and learning" (Allum *et al.,* 2010:21). Sun *et al.* (2012) found that attachment to conventional society and its institutions was significantly related to support for community policing among college students in China. Flexon *et al.* (2009) and Levy (2001) found that attachment to school resulted in more positive attitudes toward the police.

Kautt and Tankebe (2011) found a link between social vulnerability and reliance on state institutions and attitudes toward the Criminal Justice System. They found that greater fiscal or familial vulnerability (e.g. from those living in rented accommodation or those with dependants, regardless of ethnic background) was associated with more favourable views of the CJS, compared to a greater social and economic stability predicting lower assessments of the CJS. They stated, " … Perhaps, law-abiding persons in such vulnerable situations are acutely aware of it. This may provoke some sense of reliance on the CJS for protection (as they have no other options), thereby leading them to view it more positively" (*ibid.*:108). As such, reliance or dependency on a state's institutions for help may develop generalised trust and act as a mediating factor in producing more confidence in societal institutions. On the other hand, weak bonds to societal institutions could result in *legal cynicism* (Nivette *et al.*, 2014; Kirk & Matsuda, 2011; Kirk & Papachristos, 2011), which refers to a broad rejection of the law and its representatives.

2.6.2 Immediate social bonds

A few studies have connected immediate social bonds and attitudes to the police. There is evidence for transmission of value orientations and attitudes from parents to their children (Glass *et al*., 1986; Moen *et al*., 1997). Nihart *et al.* (2005) found that feelings toward parents and teachers were predictive of similar feelings toward the police. Wu *et al.* (2015) found that attachment to father, commitment to school, and conventional beliefs are significant predictors of positive juvenile perceptions of the police. In Australia, a study examining the influence of parent–child dynamics on youth attitudes to police, found that maternal attachment mattered more than paternal attachment to youth's attitudes (Sargeant & Bond, 2015).

Sindall *et al*. (2016) explored whether young people's attitudes to the police are informed by their parents' views, or whether direct experiences of policing and crime are more influential. Drawing on data from more than 1,500 young people (aged 10–15 years) and their parents interviewed in the CSEW between 2010 and 2012, they found that the views of children and their parents were aligned, even after controlling for other variables. That is, young people's attitudes toward the police are transmitted though socialization in family settings, and come to closely resemble parental attitudes. Intergenerational attitude alignment is age-dependent and stronger as young people mature. Attitudinal alignment with parents is stronger when there is a high degree of police sighting. However, the CSEW dataset has methodological shortcomings in that only one parent was interviewed and was present when the child was interviewed, compromising the integrity of the answers.

Nivette *et al.* (2015) found that legal cynicism is associated with weak social bonds, and this legal framework is formed early and remains moderately consistent between the ages of 13 and 15 years. They found that young people who were more disconnected from their parents and school had higher levels of legal cynicism. Their study also showed that legal cynicism among adolescents is to a small extent the result of alienation and detachment from social institutions. They argue that legal cynicism presents a cognitive neutralization framework to justify previous wrongdoing post-hoc.

Studies report greater peer influence than family influence during adolescence on the formation of beliefs about law and legal institutions (Easton & Dennis, 1969; Adelson & Beall, 1970; Brown, 2004). Friends' contact heavily influences young people's attitudes toward the police (Giordano, 1976; Leiber *et al.*, 1998; Hurst & Frank, 2000). However, criminological research

has rarely examined ethnic/racial networks mediating social bonds/associations to explain variations in attitude toward the police.

2.6.3 Ethnic identity and ethnic composition of friendship networks

The police can challenge identities because of their symbolic power (Jackson & Bradford, 2010; Bradford, 2014). Lee *et al.* (2010) investigated whether ethnic identity was salient in explaining African-American offenders' perceptions of police discrimination and legitimacy. Their sample consisted of 1,354 adjudicated youth (aged 14-18) from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and Phoenix, Arizona. To measure participants' overall sense of ethnic identity, the researchers used Phinney's (1992) Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM). Respondents who scored higher on the ethnic identity measure were more likely to report discrimination by the police but also perceived the police to be a more legitimate force than their counterparts. The authors used a developmental psychology rationale to explain their findings:

> The increasing metacognitive abilities that make ethnic identity more salient for youth led them to be more aware of racial discrimination; at the same time, these abilities also made them mature enough to develop an understanding that the police were a necessary and legitimate institution for maintaining social order. (*ibid.*, 2010:787)

In the first part of their argument, Lee *et al.* (2010) drew an important link between ethnic identity, awareness of racism and attitudes toward the police, while the second part is tenuous.

Exploring differences in social networks across racial–ethnic identities is particularly important, as many adolescent friendships are intra-racial (Giordano, 2003). There is evidence that homophily (the tendency for individuals to affiliate with friends from similar backgrounds) across ethnicities predicts violence. Haynie and Payne (2006) found that Black and Hispanic (but not Asian or White) homogenous networks explained greater involvement in violence. Increased friendship-network heterogeneity was associated with less violence among Blacks.

Research in Chicago found that a school's racial composition had an impacted on young people's perceptions of criminal injustice (Hagan *et al.*, 2005). As school composition became more heterogeneous (i.e. as the number of White students increased in predominantly non-white schools) perceptions of injustice amongst Black and Latino students at first became more negative but subsequently recovered. Wu *et al.* (2015) integrated race into social bond theory to explain the variation in young people's perceptions of the police. Their findings suggested

significant differences in outlook between White and Black teenagers and, to a lesser extent, between White and Hispanic teenagers. The effects of race and social bonds are more independent, and social bonds did not mediate the race-attitudes relationship. Thus, there were consistently negative attitudes for Black and (to a lesser degree) Hispanic respondents, regardless of their social bonding profiles. However, the investigators did not check levels of ethnic/racial identification (i.e. the salience of ethnic identity). Their questions assessed the police more generally. Similarly, in Lurigio *et al.*'s (2009) study, integrating ethnic and racial origin to social bonds — prosocial values (legal orientation) — was found to be positively related to Latino students' respect for the police and willingness to assist them, but not to African-American students' respect. The robustness of Black attitudes across different groups and settings draws attention to a unique experience that might explain those views.

2.6.4 Social support

Social support has become a recognised protective factor[11] that has received wide scholarly attention in terms of mental and physical health across the lifespan (Murrell & Norris, 1991; Rowe & Kahn, 1997; Sarason *et al.,* 1994) and has increasingly been incorporated into social network research. It is defined as "the delivery (or perceived delivery) of assistance from communities, social networks, and confiding partners in meeting the instrumental and expressive needs of individuals" (in Colvin *et al.*, 2002:21). Wellman and Wortley (1990), pioneers in the study of networks, used East York (Toronto, Canada) data for their research. They showed how different types of ties (parent–child, sibling, extended kin, neighbours, friends, organisational ties) and different characteristics of ties (significance and strength) can provide different kinds of *social support* (emotional aid, financial aid, companionship). They stressed the importance of friends in supportive networks and the ensemble of networks to supply stable and adaptive support (1990).

Social support as an underlying influence has gained some attention in attempting to explain crime and deviance, although not so much regarding the relationship with and attitudes toward the police. Colvin *et al.* (2002) claimed that two dimensions of social support are relevant to understanding its effects: *consistency* and *source* of support. The consistent provision of social

[11] A protective factor is a characteristic at the biological, psychological, family, or community (including peers and culture) level that is associated with a lower likelihood of problem outcomes or that reduces the negative impact of a risk factor on problem outcomes (National Research Council and Institute of Medicine, 2009)
.

support nourishes trust: "this sense of trust forms the basis for a strong social bond that becomes generalised into a strong moral commitment to others and to legitimate social institutions" (Colvin *et al.*, 2002:24). The authors distinguish between protective sources (legitimate) and risk sources (illegitimate) in promoting legal orientation, a key aspect of legal socialisation.

Bandura (1997) claimed that the strength of families, communities, organisations, social institutions and even nations depends partly on people's sense of collective efficacy: that is, in their belief they can solve problems and improve their lives through joint effort. According to social cognitive theory, the family is the first context that provides significant experiences for the individual. The feedback received from parents is the 'backbone' for children's socialisation: it provides them with useful information about their ability to know how to behave in an efficacious way (Bandura, 1997; Pepe *et al.*, 2008) and to know they are not alone when confronted by a difficult situation; conversely, limited support during upbringing can lead to the opposite results. In this study, I will examine young people's relationships with the police placed in schools. I ask whether social support and homophilous friendship networks (by ethnic/racial background) affect attitudes toward the police.

2.7 Legal socialisation: Compliance and cooperation

Since 2003, police in the UK have sought ways to enhance their ability to reassure communities. Improving people's confidence in the police was thought to yield a potential array of desired outcomes ranging from compliance to cooperation. This follows from Tyler's idea of procedural justice and is a key aspect of legal socialisation. In this review, I touch upon different constructs underlying legitimacy, try to disentangle what it means to different people at different ages and examine behavioural intentions such as obeying police directives and cooperating with them.

2.7.1 Contact quality

Fair treatment, respect and attentiveness help to tag an experience as positive and contribute to non-minority satisfaction with the police (Tyler, 2004; Bradford *et al.*, 2009), even when stop-and-search tactics are the mode of contact (Stone & Pettigrew, 2000). Contact quality has a strong impact on attitudes toward the police, though the direction and strength of the association are not always straightforward. The level of procedural fairness can improve or worsen perceptions of police legitimacy held by adults and young people (Skogan, 2006; Tyler & Fagan, 2005, 2006), and this may have an impact on subsequent compliance with the police (Tyler &

Fagan, 2005) and willingness to cooperate (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Viki *et al.*, 2006; Hinds, 2007).

Other studies focusing on the quality of contact have suggested asymmetry: positive contact does not necessarily translate into positive attitudes, and negative experiences are likely to result in greater negative attitudes toward the police (Miller *et al.*, 2004; Leiber *et al.*, 1998; Cheurprakobit, 2000; Schafer *et al.*, 2003). Hurst *et al.* (2000) found racial differences in attitudes toward officer performance. Only Blacks maintained more negative attitudes after positive encounters. Robustness in attitudes, despite positive encounters, was found in Rusinko *et al.*'s (1978) study of adolescents. Skogan (2006) found that the impact of a bad experience is four to fourteen times greater than that of a good experience, i.e. 'contact asymmetry'. Both police- and citizen-initiated contacts had similarly negative effects once they were tagged 'negative'. Data were initially drawn from a survey conducted in Chicago in 2003. To confirm his findings, Skogan replicated the analysis with samples from seven other cities across three different countries, which all presented similar patterns. In explaining why negative events have such an impact, Skogan uses the Brandl *et al.* (1994) 'negativity bias' idea, which contends that pre-dispositions impart meanings to events and thus guide the interpretation of experiences. Simply put, negative cues can re-affirm a line of thinking or expectations and thus have a strong impact on how those experiences are registered.

Partial support for the contact asymmetry argument is found in research conducted in England and Wales. Bradford *et al.* (2009) tested Skogan's contact asymmetry hypothesis by drawing on data from the 2005/6 London Metropolitan Public Attitude Survey (METPAS). Instead of one simple measure of confidence, Bradford *et al.* (2009) proposed to test public confidence by measuring three distinct but interrelated components: effectiveness, community engagement, and fairness of treatment. Like Skogan, they found that negatively perceived contact was associated with less confidence in the police, impacting across all three components. Unlike Skogan, however, they found that well-handled encounters improved confidence in police fairness and engagement but not in police *effectiveness*. An explanation offered by the researchers points to police difficulty in demonstrating effectiveness in personal contacts versus their ability to demonstrate fairness and, to some degree, community engagement. Their informants were 15-17 years old. It might be asked whether such young participants can accurately distinguish between local and citywide (London) police or can comment on police community engagement.

A study by Tyler, Fagan, and Geller (2014) of repeated negative police contact found that police legitimacy decreased over time. They examined the influence of street stops in New York on the legal socialisation of young men and found an association with the number of police stops young men see or experience and attitude to the police. Their contribution is primarily methodological (regarding repeated contact), since most of the existing research draws conclusions from single contact.

The 'asymmetry of contact' hypothesis, although compelling, should be read with caution as most studies (including this one) are cross-sectional, so it is difficult to know what precedes what: confidence in the police or contact. It is possible that the relationship between confidence and contact is reciprocal, but drawing conclusions about causality is better achieved in a longitudinal study.

2.7.2 Obeying the police and compliance

Research with adult informants explains the obligation to obey legal authorities primarily as mediated by legitimacy. Several studies have found that adults express strong feelings of obligation to obey the law, the police, and the courts, and attribute this to a general feeling that the institution is legitimate (Tyler, 1990; Tyler and Huo, 2002). Jackson *et al.* (2012) put ideas about police legitimacy in the context of the UK and specified that they are mediated through (1) the *recognition* of power (obligation to authority and a corresponding duty to obey) and by (2) *justification* of power (through shared moral purpose in the co-production of social order) (2012:1054). Thus simple obligation (i.e. submission to authority) and shared moral values (i.e. acceptance of the law and legal norms) are two pathways to legally compliant behaviour.

Instrumental incentives (deterrence-based approaches to legal compliance) are used to explain children's and adolescents' motivation to obey directives (Tyler, Goff & MacCoun, 2015). Growing normative understanding that underpins compliance with legal authorities is part of the legal socialisation process (Tapp & Levine, 1974). In the early stages of development, obligation to obey is unlikely to be mediated by legitimacy, since "Obligation to obey the police and moral alignment with the police both involve internalisation" (Jackson *et al.,* 2012:1062). Internalisation, as Jackson *et al.* (2012) explain, is the process by which people assimilate values as their own; it provides an important basis for compliance with rules. This process links to cognitive development and maturity.

2.7.3 Legitimacy and cooperation with the police: Ethnic minorities

Procedural justice is proposed to enhance legitimacy and in turn to affect cooperation, as people think the legitimate authority is entitled to cooperation and obedience. Bradford *et al.* (2014) highlighted the mediating aspect of citizenship/national identification. In a two-wave panel survey conducted in Australia, they found that national identity mediates the association between procedural justice and perceptions of police legitimacy. When people felt fairly treated by the police, their sense of identification with the superordinate group represented by the police was enhanced, thereby enhancing police legitimacy. Given that Bradford's paper discusses the police as identity-relevant agent, historical influences and policing tactics against certain people should have been addressed. Cunneen (2001), who researched aboriginal communities and the police, claimed that the experience of indigenous people with the police is qualitatively different from that of other sections of society. Tyler and Huo (2002) and Huo (2003) provided evidence for national identification (not national identity) as mediating perceptions of the police. By contrast, unfair treatment signalled to people that they did not belong, undermining both identification and police legitimacy (and strengthening their marginalised identity).

Cooperation with the police can take many shapes and forms, e.g. by reporting crime or providing information. While past research has found weak correlations between police performance, risk of punishment and cooperation (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003), more recent evidence presents a stronger direct relationship between procedural justice and cooperation (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Jackson & Bradford, 2010; Bradford, 2012), as well as an indirect relationship in which assessments of procedural justice are mediated through identity and influence the propensity to cooperate with legal authorities and comply with the law (Tyler, 2006, 2011; Murphy *et al.*, 2008, 2009; Jackson *et al.*, 2012; Murphy & Cherney, 2012; Papachristos *et al.*, 2012; Mazerolle *et al.*, 2012; Sargeant *et al.*, 2013; Tyler & Jackson, 2014).

Evidence from studies of adult informants suggests that minority-group cooperation with the police is limited if individuals do not perceive the rules and procedures as legitimate. However, there is more to cooperation than simply procedural justice. Murphy and Cherney's (2012) Australian study shows that in the inclination to cooperate, minority groups rely not only on procedural justice but also on institutional and legal legitimacy assessments, i.e. police may be seen as a legitimate body, but the laws they enforce may not be seen as such since they

contradict religious laws that take precedence (e.g. it may conflict with religious law that legitimises practices that the law of the land does not, such as forced marriage). Police may also be seen as legitimate but incompetent in delivering the service they are expected to deliver, and this instrumental assessment can also negatively affect cooperation (Bradford, 2012a). In his study of young Londoners, Bradford (2012b) found that greater understanding by multi-national respondents of what the police represent as a group encourages cooperation with them. He explains a classification of social identity as shared through 'just procedures' sends an identity-relevant message of inclusion and thus positively affects attitudes toward the police.

Bradford *et al.* (2015) used data from the Crime Survey of England and Wales to explore the relationship between immigration and trust in the police. They drew on three different theories of trust (Hardin, 2006; Giddens, 1991; and Uslaner, 2008) to explain immigrants' trust in the police. They found that trust is higher among immigrants than among the UK-born population (and varies by time since arrival and experience of policing). Bradford *et al.* (2015) explained migrants' trusting attitudes by lack of experience of the police among the recently arrived. That study drew on an adult sample. By contrast, the present study draws on a sample of young people; it includes intention to cooperate and also derives explanations from theories of knowledge construction.

2.7.4 Legitimacy and cooperation with the police: Age

Research suggests that age can predict legitimacy, trust and level of cooperation with the police. Piquero *et al.* (2005) found that older adolescents were less likely than 14-year-olds to perceive the law as legitimate. Fagan and Tyler (2005) found that in early adolescence legal authorities were perceived to be more legitimate but that this belief declined over time for some adolescents. Hinds' (2007, 2009) innovative cross-sectional study in Australia aimed to understand young people's views of the police and how those views influenced their intentions to cooperate. Hinds analysed questionnaire data completed by 14-17 years old in two sweeps—pre- and post-community police intervention by the Youth Community Alliance (YCA), which aimed to improve the youth–police relationship. The findings support the procedural fairness theory: young people's evaluations of the police were less positive if they experienced prior negative contact with them, while informal positive contact with the police improved judgments about police legitimacy and consequently willingness to assist them. Those findings suggest that younger participants aged 14-17 years were more willing to assist the police than older adolescents.

Limitations in police legitimacy and cooperation studies are plentiful and usually attributable to: unspecified type of contact (extended or one-off); unidentified contact initiator; cross-sectional design; and time-lapse between contact and evaluation. Moreover, instrumental validity in the sample of young people is a matter for concern. Could the use of the term 'legitimacy' be premature when investigating young people or children? Could past research have confused legitimacy with power, given that the understanding of abstract concepts (such as legitimacy) follows a developmental trajectory (Kohlberg, 1981)? Could criminological research place unrealistic expectations on the power of the police by enhancing (what seems to be) police legitimacy in encouraging people to comply and co-operate, but omitting consideration of other interrelated key factors, such as 'perceived behavioural control' adopted from 'the theory of planned behaviour' (Ajzen, 1980), age and cognitive maturity (e.g. reasoning and ability to abstract) and identity-formation processes? I address these questions in the present study's analyses and interpretations.

2.8 Can contact impressions be generalised?

Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) claimed that simple contact under certain circumstances can be a sufficient condition for improving negative attitudes, may have lasting effects, and can be generalised beyond the individuals to their reference group. Using a social-psychological framework, Brown and Hewstone (2005) suggested considering the out-group association with the individual in relation to changing attitudes. As such, if a person is not perceived to be a representative member of a group (e.g. if the police officer is perceived as an exception to the police force), then generalisation to that group is unlikely to follow. Following the same line of argument, the ethnic-group salience of the individual at the receiving end of contact might help to determine whether the contact could be generalised.

As noted above, some literature (e.g. Brandl *et al.*, 1994) supports the idea that adults' attitudes to the police are generally stable and not easily changed after contact and that pre-existing attitudes have a long life and strong influence on how people interpret and remember their experiences with the police. Schuck and Rosenbaum (2005) also explored generalisation patterns. They found that judgments derived from direct negative contact with neighbourhood police would be associated with attitudes toward the local police rather than with attitudes

toward the police in general. Myhill and Bradford (in Myhill *et al.*, 2011) specify that, for some people, experience with the police does not dispose them to make judgments more generally about how the police are performing their role. While studies of contact do suggest variability in how individuals interpret their contact with the police, most of them are unsound as they rarely include officers' racial characteristics, are mostly cross-sectional, and do not discriminate between types of contact. Most importantly, these studies do not seem to take age into account as a variable in generalisation — specifically, the ability to abstract (e.g. from 'police officer' to 'police force') in children and young people.

In their paper drawing on the Metropolitan Police Local Public Attitudes Survey, Stanko and Bradford (2009) elaborated on the relationship between general and specific attitudes using the following latent indicators: police engagement, effectiveness, fairness of treatment. They meshed 'community engagement' and 'fair treatment' in their analysis, and their instrument is not all-inclusive; it does not include elementary contextual indicators such as fear of crime. Their discussion also neglected a significant finding related to age: they found that 15-17-year-olds are more negative in their overall evaluation than other ages. Despite limitations in instrumentation and analysis, their contribution is important at they sought to tease out the relationship between latent indicators and overall measures, showing that overall opinions of the police are built up from a range of discrete but overlapping constructs.

Generalisation to other domains from experience with the police in school domains did not find support in the limited literature. Hinds (2009) and Hopkins *et al.* (1992) found that improvement in attitudes to police who participated in school programmes did not result in improvement in attitudes to the police in general. Norman's (2009) qualitative study on the Metropolitan Police supports this understanding: young participants showed higher regard for School officers and PCSOs with whom they came in contact with than for other London police. Those who had previous negative contact with the police tended to have negative opinions about the specific officer with whom they engaged, without generalising to the police at large.

Bottoms and Tankebe (2012) argue that the scope of legitimacy in the CJS is wider than proposed by Tyler and should include other aspects and more nuanced understandings such as distinguishing between legitimacy and trust and distinguishing between power-holders' claims to legitimacy and responses by audiences (a process that the authors call 'dialogic'). 'The law' and 'law enforcement' are not homogeneous concepts, so should be separated. Bottoms and

Tankebe conclude that the concept of legitimacy is elusive and multifaceted (2012:168). Furthermore, the claim that children and young people understand the police's legitimacy is even more complex given that comprehension of abstract notions is a developmental achievement (both in terms of cognitive ability and the move from personalization of legal actors to an abstract understanding of the police as an institution).

2.9 Chapter summary

This review has highlighted some gaps in the literature concerning young people's attitudes toward the police and how criminologists have studied young people in the context of legal socialisation. Most previous work on legal development has studied adult samples. A dearth of research exploring young people's experiences with and attitudes toward the police is noticeable in UK-based studies. Research with community samples focusing on young people is limited, even though it is urgently needed if one wants to understand the formation and proliferation of attitudes toward the police. The role of ethnic- and family- based social networks in shaping views of the police is almost unexplored in the literature. In the present study, I consider different influences of the social environment on attitudes while integrating developmental processes such as identity-formation. The social composition of networks interacting with identity-formation processes may explain attitudes to the police. The effect of extended contact and familiarity with the police upon attitudes toward them receives little or no attention, probably because it is often the case that police and residents are not engaged in extended contact. While ethnic background is a common explanatory factor of attitudes toward the police, other interactions such as generational status are rarely brought together in research design and analysis. I attempt to make finer distinctions between ethnic and generational backgrounds, permitting a more nuanced understanding of findings. In the next chapter, I will outline the analytical framework and methods used in this exploratory case study.

3. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODS

3.1 Research approach

Because of the exploratory nature of the research, I adopted a case-study approach. This follows the exploratory sequential design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). I also employ complementary approaches to social inquiry in this mixed-methods study. First, I aim to provide insights into community-level processes and mechanisms underlying relationships with and social representations of the police by highlighting current views and historical ones. Second, I attempt to disentangle individual-level variations in Hackney secondary school pupils' attitudes to the police in schools and neighbourhoods while focusing on ethnicity.

The flexibility of the case-study approach (Yin, 2003) permits the use of a combination of methods. Working within a pluralistic framework, I intertwine qualitative and quantitative techniques throughout the research stages, which is especially advantageous for studying complex social problems (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). This approach encourages the collection of more comprehensive evidence, although at a cost: multiple methods usually consume more time and resources than a single method, and result in the challenge of reconciling different epistemologies and ontologies (Mason, 2006a).

At first, I strove to understand views of Hackney's ethnic and religious 'community leaders' on the police. Then, I pursued the views of Hackney's secondary school children (ages 11-17). Both types of data helped to test, confirm and refine themes presented in the School Survey and to examine how a younger cohort reflects, adopts or resists ideas about the police held by community elders.

The motivation for collecting data in two stages was complementary rather than confirmatory, acknowledging that different research foci require different ways of asking and answering questions. Qualitative methods included: 1) observations of Hackney council forums, 2) interviews with community leaders and local police, 3) police shadowing, and 4) group discussions in Hackney schools. I then used quantitative investigation to uncover, explain and elaborate upon the data that qualitative research addressed. Quantitative methods included: 1)

a School Survey and 2) a review of the Hackney-related Census, police, and Council data. The parallel approaches utilized in this study are outlined in Table 3.1. This chapter outlines the theoretical framework and methods employed in an attempt to answer the following key research questions:

Key research question: What is the relation between social representations of the police, ethnic identity and attitudes to the police

- In the community?
    - What are the representations of the police held by members of Hackney BME communities?
    - Does the use of social representations reflect (1) ideas about power and subordination or (2) group identity processes of inclusion and exclusion as manifested in relationships with and attitudes to the police?
    - What is the role of the community-level mechanisms of collective efficacy in facilitating working relationships with the police?
- In schools?
    - What factors (including socio-demographic background, types of contact with school police and contact satisfaction, fear of crime, offending and victimisation and social capital) explain young people's *general* and *specific* attitudes to the police in Hackney secondary schools and neighbourhoods?
    - What is the relationship between general and specific attitudes to the police in school?
    - What is the relationship between perceptions of the police, fair treatment, compliance, and the inclination to cooperate with them?

3.2 Research philosophy

Although Hackney is distinct in terms of the extent of ethnic diversity, it can nevertheless be seen as representative of deprived inner-city areas, nationally and internationally. For this reason, Hackney has been repeatedly chosen as the site for social studies and policy programme implementations (e.g. community evaluation of Recommendation 61 [12] and Safer School

[12] Recommendation 61 of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report called for the police to record all stops as well as searches.

Partnerships). The overlap of the social and spatial, introduced by the Chicago School of sociology, became a key element in the disciplines of criminology and urban sociology. The Chicago School's main contribution to criminology was empirical. In a bid for soundness, the school's researchers believed in staying close to the people they researched and the communities they were writing about (Park & Burgess, 1925; Shaw & McKay, 1942). The fast pace of urbanisation in the nineteenth century divided large cities into concentric areas. Businesses concentrated in the inner areas, while the next zone out — the zone of transition (Shaw, 1929), a fertile ground for social problems, and delinquency in particular — appealed to Chicago School research interests. This zone was traditionally the cheapest for housing and thus the first area for new immigrants to occupy. It was also the zone with the highest rate of delinquency, a trend confirmed in other big cities (UNCSH, 2000), including London. While influential, Shaw and McKay's (1942) ideas may better suit the US urban ecology than the mixed and command economies of Europe (where in some urban areas the wealthy live in city centres – such as in Paris).

The zone of transition is said to exist in a state of 'social disorganisation'. As defined by Thomas and Znaniecki, social disorganisation is "the decrease of the influence of the existing social rules of behaviour upon individual members of the group" (1958[1927]: 1128). The 'group' and 'group membership' are instrumental in their theory, and they introduced the idea that a person's thinking processes and attitudes are constructed by the interaction between a particular situation and its setting (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927).

The main writings in urban ecology are US-focused. However, the US history of migration, race relations, citizenship and urban spatial orgnisation differ from the UK context. While it did not explicitly consider ethnicity, the Chicago School concept provided the foundation for the interconnections between racialization, criminalization, forms of belonging and spatial organisation (Valier, 2003). Although often criticised for essentialising the already essentialised, the Chicago School's ideas continue to influence criminologists and sociologists studying urban marginality, ethnicity and policing. Valier claims, "… the overall effect of Chicago scholarship on culture conflict and crime was to essentialise certain readily identifiable people as marginal, reifying the notion of displacement" (2003:7). Moreover, in celebrating the idea of assimilation (Park, 1926), the Chicago School neglected to observe societal practices and ideas of

institutional racism (Sibley, 1995). Likewise, by generally referring to two static groups (nationals and foreigners), the Chicago School largely ignored matters of globalisation and multiplicity of identities. While the Chicago School scholars recognised the interaction between levels of influence (macro/meso/micro), they overlooked mediating process of meaning production.

3.2.1 The social construction of knowledge

In order to understand the police as a social construct (i.e. dependent on aspects of social surroundings) and the symbolic and material relationship it elicits, I draw on Social Representation Theory (SRT), a conceptual framework amenable to empirical research. Social representations are:

> …systems of values, ideas and practices with a two-fold function: first, to establish an order which will enable individuals to orient themselves in their material and social world and to master it; and secondly to enable communication to take place among members of a community by providing them with a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual and group history (Moscovici, 1973:xiii).

This theory belongs to the social-constructionist approach in social psychology and is used to explore people's attitudes. It is a research tool used when symbolic understanding is sought to fully comprehend an area of inquiry. SRT is epistemologically important, as it explores the basis of social knowledge. It is also ontologically important, as it claims to create and shape reality through socially shared symbolic resources.

SRT draws on Durkheim's collective representations (1912/1965) that describe (monolithic) knowledge construction in pre-modern societies but is outdated in describing current knowledge construction and reconstruction. Plurality of knowledge, a characteristic of present-day societies, produces a plurality of representations. SRT builds on two key processes: objectification and anchoring. 'Objectification' is defined as a process by which objects or ideas are realised as concrete realities. 'Anchoring' refers to the integration of novelty into pre-existing frameworks and narratives. By making the unfamiliar familiar (resulting in the creation of a common understanding), social representations serve a purpose of mastering the world (by allowing for predictability) and facilitating communication, as they provide the elements of speech.

The theory of social representations emphasizes how the social is intertwined with cognition. Through developmental processes, people are able to render the abstract concrete, to select information and to assimilate novelty (since anchoring and objectification are *de facto* developmental achievements). Through socialization, people learn about the 'referent' and become able to develop ideas, attitudes and beliefs. The form (cognitive apparatus) cannot be separated from the content of knowledge (Moscovici, 1984a; Duveen & DeRosa, 1992). Once social representation is activated, it serves to orient and interpret the world and to allow the individual to understand, accept or resist social relations.

I use SRT in this research to enhance understandings of relationships between police and minority groups by exploring interconnections between representations of the police that carry meanings about social order and power-relations and identities. This approach allows me to investigate knowledge construction and connect social identity and the human experience. It has been applied in research of racialised identities (*cf.* Howarth, 2002, Howarth, 2007), migrants and naturalised identities (*cf.* Andreouli and Howarth, 2013), gendered identities (*cf.* Duveen, 1993) and developmental psychology (*cf.* Duveen and Lloyd, 1990). This approach is successful in illustrating how identities are constructed through and against the representations held by others within particular social contexts.

Social representations have a direct link to identity, as they are a method through which social identity expresses itself. The dynamic of placing the 'self' in opposition to an 'other' through symbolic repertoires defines identities and mediates the relationship between the 'self' and the 'other' (Howarth, 2011). In the formation and maintenance of racial and ethnic identity, social representations provide a frame of reference through which people make sense of the world around them. Moscovici (1976) added that different and contradictory ways of thinking about the same issue often co-exist; this is termed *cognitive polyphasia*. While socio-epistemic structures impose on the subject, the individual has the ability to question, resist and formulate new meanings. Social representations are symbolic phenomena that exist at individual and collective levels. They are developed, circulated, maintained and at times resisted by a community or culture that created them. In this thesis, I examine both whether (since this acquisition of knowledge is age-dependent) and how shared perceptions of police proliferating within a community can drive general and specific attitudes held by secondary school pupils.

3.2.2 Units of analysis: The ecology of human behaviour

I conceptualise 'context' in terms of interactive systems, following Bronfenbrenner (1979), whose ecological systems theory was inspired by Lewin's field theory (1951). Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory provides both a theoretical perspective and a practical framework since it considers the impact of a complex environment upon a developing person.

Concerned with psychological forces and processes shaping the individual, Lewin (1936) proposed the term 'life space' for all the influences and forces on a person at a given moment in time. These forces are located in the outer environment and inner personal environment, and they constantly interact with each other. Lewin was less concerned with the actual environment than with the perceived one, or with what individuals make of what they see and experience. For Lewin, "What is real is what has effects" (1936:19), i.e. the focus is on the subjective interpretation rather that objective attributes of the environment. In his field theory, Lewin considers levels of connectedness or separation, belongingness, and distance between forces/zones of influence.

For Bronfenbrenner (1979), the ecological environment is conceived as nested concentric systems representing different influences on the individual. This ecological structure includes five socially organised sub-systems: the micro-system, the meso-system, the exo-system, the macro-system and the chrono-system. Such a structure "… provides a unified but highly differentiated conceptual scheme for describing and interrelating structures and processes in both the immediate and more remote environment as it shapes the course of human development throughout the life-span" (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:11). I explore the macro-, meso- and micro- levels and the interconnections between levels.

Macro-level processes: political, social and economic processes carry implications for local communities. When relevant, I discuss macro-level processes in relation to inequality, race relations, immigration and legislation.

Meso-level processes: the community level is the first of two research foci. I conducted with community leaders from ethnic communities in order to understand relationships with and representations of the police through contextual effects, including past and recent experiences with the police, mechanisms of social control and levels of cohesion (collective efficacy), levels

of organisation and working relationships with the police. While keeping in mind that those mechanisms and attributes are particular to communities as they reflect the cultural and historical distinctiveness of the groups, the contexts in which these social mechanisms and processes present themselves cannot be ignored.

Micro (individual)-level explanations: this is the second research focus, which addresses the factors involved in pupils' specific and general attitudes toward the school and neighbourhood police. My evidence is based on questionnaire returns from four different Hackney secondary schools.

3.3 Data collection

The data were collected in two phases. The first phase focused on adult participants from Hackney communities and one Police Faith and Community Liaison officer; the second phase focused on Hackney secondary school pupils. Table 3.1 shows the methods used, aim, sample, type of questions and methods of analysis.

Table 3.1 Research methods

Method	Domain	Aim	Sample	Type of question	Method of analysis
Qualitative semi-structured interviews	Community	To ascertain community-level perceptions of the police	*Seven members of Hackney ethnic communities* *One police officer*	Semi-structured	*Thematic analysis*
Shadowing	School	To gain an insight into the relationship between school police and pupils	*Four different occasions observing SSPs police at work*	n/a	*Notes taken, integrated in the analysis*
Focus group	School	To tap into pupils' perceptions of the police in school and the neighbourhood	*Four groups of Year 6-8 pupils*	Semi-structured	*Thematic analysis*
Quantitative questionnaire	School	To quantify pupils' perception of the police in school and the neighbourhood	*322 questionnaires*	Mostly closed scale/tick box questions; Several open-ended questions	*Descriptive analysis* *Inferential analysis*

3.3.1 Research Phase I: Hackney communities

Access to Neighbourhood Representatives (November 2005 – July 2007)

An initial meeting with the Head of Safer Communities Services provided me with an understanding of the major players representing different religious, racial and ethnic communities in the borough at that time. The key-informant approach requires the careful identification of formal and informal leaders. This research phase involved observing the forums and participating in consultations and local events in order to understand the relationships with the police and to make initial contact with potential participants. The forums attended were: Multi-Agency Racial Incident Forum (MARIF); Hate Crime; Domestic Violence and Black Minority Ethnic Refugees (BMER). Hackney forums took place in Hackney Town Hall; attendees were practitioners from the voluntary sector, police and Hackney Council representatives. I also attended the Hackney Safer Communities Consultations, Hackney BME and Police Consultations arranged by the Hackney Council for Voluntary Service (HCVS), the ChangeUp Hackney conference, One Love Hackney, Black History Month events, Belonging-Voices of London Refugees and the annual meeting of Interlink (a Haredi voluntary organisation).

I recruited community leaders working in the voluntary sector and providing advice, support, education and other services for their local ethnic and religious communities for the interviews if they had any work-related contact with the police. I contacted eight by email and phone and explained the research aims and rationale. All but one contact were positive and agreed to participate in the research. The purposive sampling meant that the interviewees were not randomly selected as statistically representative of their communities. Despite unrepresentativeness, they provided information on their respective communities' past and current relationships with the police.

Semi-structured interviews (July – November 2006)

I conducted seven semi-structured interviews with ethnic, racial and religious leaders from the following communities: Black (African, Caribbean), Kurdish–Turkish, and Ultra-Orthodox Jewish (Haredi).

To contextualise these accounts, I also conducted an interview with the Faith and Community Liaison officer.

Through this qualitative research, I aimed to achieve a better understanding of the different religious and ethnic communities and their relationships with the police. Another objective was to understand how direct and indirect experiences with the police affected attitudes toward them. Since community leaders have a broad perspective of the issues, they were able to provide a rich portrayal of their communities, communicate concerns and report social representations of the police held by the members of their communities.

As noted above, I deployed a qualitative design at this stage since it had the power: (1) to extract rich and meaningful data about social processes and life experiences from individual accounts; and (2) "to give voice to those whose accounts tend to be marginalised or discounted" (Willig, 2001:12).

Research process

I conducted the interviews with the seven community leaders at the participants' workplaces. Six were audio-recorded with consent. One was not audiotaped, but notes were taken throughout the interview. One interviewee withdrew consent for recording when discussing specific issues. I later transcribed the recordings and used them as primary data for the qualitative investigation. The interview with the Faith and Community Liaison officer took place in his office at the Stoke-Newington Police station. Hand-written notes were taken during the interview.

The community leaders' semi-structured interviews followed a guideline. However, since semi-structured interviews are inherently open and flexible, the method allowed for exploration of new themes. After introductions, I asked informants to confirm their background details before moving on to questions about the community's relationship with the police (see below). The interview with the Faith and Community Liaison officer followed an open structure. The aim was to let the officer unrestrictedly share (without the imposition of a research agenda) his work experiences with different communities.

Research instrument and analysis

I devised the following interview questions to address the role of communities in informal crime control and relationships with the police at the organisational level of the community. The questions also attempt to interrogate the transmission of ideas about the police from those socially shared to those individually held. Interview questions and themes included:

1. Views of safety and crime in the neighbourhood.

2. How do the community's past and current experiences with the police relate to ethnic identity and to perceptions of the police in Hackney?

3. The community's informal social control, association with crime and working relationship with the police.

4. The community's level of support, crime prevention within the community and community leaders' relationships with the police.

5. How do community leaders describe their working relationships with the police?

I chose to analyse the data using 'thematic networks' (Attride-Stirling, 2001). The aim of thematic networks analysis is to explore the understanding of an issue or the significance of an idea. Thematic networks build on different levels of abstraction varying from low-level to high-level categories of meaning (i.e. themes). The high level integrates the low-level categories into meaningful units and confers equal value on the units of analysis. Thematic networks systematise the extraction of:

1. Lowest-order premises evident in the text (*basic themes*)

2. Categories of basic themes grouped together to summarise more abstract principles (*organising themes*)

3. Super-ordinate themes encapsulating the principal metaphors in the text as a whole (*global themes*)

In practical terms, applying thematic networks is simply a way of organising the themes extracted from the analysis. While thematic analyses unearth the salient themes, thematic networks facilitate the connection between themes.
I used Atlas.ti. to identify patterns in data, code recurrent themes and interpret the data.

The course of analysis followed saturation of codes. I presented the coding scheme in the second-year review, and it was approved by the reviewers. While I acknowledge that crosschecking a coding scheme is normal practice, the qualitative part, while important, was a sub-component of my study. Once the initial data had been gathered and analysed, I proceeded from community voices to the school domain.

3.3.2 Research Phase II: Hackney secondary school students

In the second phase, my research focus shifted from the community to school pupils, which is the primary focus of this study. The selection of a range of methods (observation, group discussions and a survey) was complementary as different kinds of data produce different kinds of knowledge (processual and interactive vs. structural aspects of the phenomena under investigation), and all knowledge has significance.

The shift in research focus to attitudes held by school-age respondents was driven by:

• Realising the lack of research done in this area despite the potential power that young people's attitudes toward the police have on shaping future relationships.

• The fact that the Safer School Partnerships (SSPs) provided an ideal forum for testing propositions drawn from the qualitative investigation into perceptions of the police and the power of contact on attitudes toward them.

• Practical reasons: accessibility to data determined the setting for this stage. A school-administered survey provided a safer environment and yielded a better response rate than a door-to-door survey would have. Schools also provide a rich and available source of attitudes and a context in which pupils from varied backgrounds intermingle on a daily basis. This made the investigation within schools feasible, economical (especially when compared to an alternative survey), and interesting.

• The SSP project provided a unique opportunity to understand the effect of young people's (extended) contact with police, friendships, generational status and, particularly, ethnicity in shaping attitudes.

Access to schools

I met with officials from Hackney police twice and the Learning Trust four times during this period. Meetings occurred in participants' offices and had one goal: to obtain the approval needed to conduct the research in schools, which was required by the police and the Learning Trust.

The head of Safer Communities Services Hackney introduced me to a representative of the Learning Trust. The Learning Trust representative introduced the research project via a 2006 school bulletin circulated to all Learning Trust teachers and head teachers (see Appendix 6). I worked with her to develop the questionnaire to fit the schools' ethos, to meet police approval, and to align with research interests. At the same time, I met with the borough Commander to inform him about the research and to obtain his personal approval. The Learning Trust

representative had contacted head teachers; once they showed a willingness to participate in the research, I contacted them to arrange questionnaire circulation. Four schools agreed to participate in the research. The Learning Trust required that I undergo a Criminal Record Bureau (CRB) background check before meeting the children.

Observation (January 2007 – February 2008)

I carried out four meetings with three SSP police officers, to shadow them in their daily routines, between January 2007 and February 2008. The aims were to acquire a better understanding of the role of police in schools, to determine how practices between schools vary, and to observe daily contact with pupils. The police officer who ran Hackney's SSPs programme coordinated the shadowing. I joined SSP officers in the morning and followed them on their daily routines, went to the police station dispatch, and visited with the SSP officers of the following five (of eleven) candidate schools: Stoke Newington, Cardinal Pole, Skinners, Our Lady's and the Daniel House Pupil Referral Unit. I wrote notes and logged activities and meetings but recorded information post-activity, in order to minimize attention on my presence. The observations generated plentiful data and were used as background information in the interpretation of findings.

Sampling

In 2008, the eleven Hackney secondary schools overseen by the Learning Trust had 7,698 pupils. Class size varied between and within schools. I collected a total of 322 surveys from the following schools: Hackney Free, located in the Hackney Central area (9 per cent of the sample/29 cases), Cardinal Pole, located in the Homerton area (39.8 per cent/126 cases), Skinners', located in the Woodberry Down (North Hackney) area (27.3 per cent/84 cases), and Stoke Newington, located in the Stoke Newington area (23.9 per cent/76 cases).

School selection was not random; the Learning Trust selected the schools for the research based on their schedule availability and head teachers' willingness to participate. One of the recommended Learning Trust schools was Yesodey Hatorah Secondary School for Girls (a Haredi School). I made an initial contact with school officials to determine whether they would be interested in participating in the research. Since there was no police officer present in this school, I decided not to include this school in the research. Low levels of criminality are associated with this community, and there was no need for a police officer to be placed in the school.

The sampling scheme was based on a random selection of classes: the head or deputy headteacher randomly selected one class from each year to participate (four classes in each school except Hackney Free). Thus, the general sampling technique was stratified random sampling. Some cohorts are overrepresented in the sample for three main reasons. First, some classes within the same Key Stage are put together, resulting in classes with mixed ages (e.g., Key Stage 3 groups Year 7 and Year 8 pupils together). Additionally, ages within the same form vary (e.g., Year 7 comprises children who are both eleven and twelve years old). There are more girls in the sample since I had access to one all-girls school (there were no all-boys secondary schools in Hackney as of 2008).

The survey was piloted in Hackney Free, which is the smallest subset of the sample. Skinners' Academy (an all-girls school until 2010) was the only single-sex school in the sample; the others were mixed-sex schools. In Hackney Free 11 of my participants were female and 18 were male; at Cardinal Pole 55 were female and 62 were male; and at Stoke Newington 26 were female and 48 were male. Hackney Free is a Church of England school; Cardinal Pole a Roman Catholic school; Skinners' and Stoke Newington community schools have no religious affiliation. Eligibility for free school meals (FSM, an indicator of poverty), was as follows for the participating schools in 2006: Hackney Free: 43.8 per cent; Cardinal Pole: 32.3 per cent; Skinners: 38.8 per cent; Stoke Newington: 36.1 per cent of pupils were FSM recipients (The Learning Trust data, 2007). Stoke Newington school is located in a gentrified area of Hackney and has more pupils from middle class families, according to the head teacher. Inclusion of data (questionnaires) from the pilot school (Hackney Free) was prompted by the availability and suitability of the dataset. The pilot questionnaire included all items in the revised questionnaire.

Information on the police placed in school can be found in chapter 5.

Table 3.2 Hackney secondary school population by year-group (for 2008)

	Y7	Y8	Y9	Y10	Y11	Y12	Y13	Y14	Total
The Bridge Academy	186	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	186
Cardinal Pole	183	184	170	173	167	68	34	5	984
Clapton Girls Technology College	180	176	175	169	172	51	0	0	923
Hackney Free and Parochial School[13]	148	149	149	148	134	0	0	0	728
Our Lady's Convent High School	123	120	121	118	114	71	67	20	754
Skinners' Company's School for Girls	0	85	93	102	124	56	56	32	548
Haggerston	165	158	178	172	175	0	0	0	848
Stoke Newington	240	240	240	232	252	63	64	5	1,336
Mossbourne Community Academy	194	196	198	210	0	0	0	0	798
Yesodey Hatorah	45	49	50	47	48	0	0	0	239
The Petchey Academy	180	174	0	0	0	0	0	0	354
Total	1,644	1,531	1,374	1,371	1,186	309	221	62	7,698

Source: The Learning Trust **Legend**: year 7 = age 11; year 8=age 12; year 9=age 13; year 10=age 14; year 11=age 15; year 12=age 16; year 13=age 17 and year 14=age 18.

Data from an analysis of the Annual Schools Census[14] provides a range of measures of diversity and segregation by ethnicity within schools. It shows that the ethnic profile of children attending Hackney's secondary schools differs from other boroughs across London. These data also suggest that Hackney schools are diverse, with comparatively low segregation between pupils from different ethnic and income backgrounds.

[13] Renamed in 2011 - the Urswick School
[14] www.measuringdiversity.org.uk

Table 3.3 Ethnicity in Hackney and London schools (%)

	Hackney 2008	**London 2008**	
	Secondary	*Middle*	*Secondary*
White	16.70	25.93	40.17
Black Caribbean	13.60	4.28	6.11
Black African	21.41	8.75	10.91
Indian	5.46	17.98	6.82
Pakistani	1.57	3.93	3.77
Bangladeshi	5.61	0.88	4.39
Chinese	0.44	0.78	0.83
Other	34.85	35.33	24.93

Source: Annual Schools Census

Piloting the survey (March/April 2008)

After police approval, the Learning Trust selected four schools to participate in the study. A pilot of the student survey took place in the Hackney Free School on two separate occasions in March and April 2008. Four groups from school years 7/8 (KS3[15]) and 10/11 (KS4) were convened in the computer laboratory. Each group contained 6-8 participants. The pupils first completed the survey, followed by a group discussion about the police in school and in the neighbourhood (see below). I facilitated the interaction, which took about one hour in total for survey completion and discussion. On average, it took KS3 students 15-20 minutes, and KS4 students about 10-15 minutes, to complete the survey.

I gathered feedback on the survey. Younger participants thought the survey was boring and long. Older participants thought it was 'alright', specific, clear and straightforward. One young pupil was afraid the information he provided about his parents' employment and receiving free meals would be used against him. In the revised survey, the question about parents' work was omitted. This pilot proved to be a good indicator of the level of understanding of concepts such as anonymity and confidentiality. Feedback about the length of the questionnaire was taken into consideration, and the revised questionnaire was trimmed to fit participants' ability to concentrate. There was concern about pupils having insufficient command of English. However, the overall response rate was high, and distribution of questionnaires took place in April-May

[15] KS = key stage

(toward the end of school year) on the assumption that newcomers would have acquired adequate language skills by then.

Group discussions (March/April 2008)

After completing the survey, four group discussions were conducted with the same participants (with 6-8 mixed-gender pupils randomly chosen by the class teacher) to understand the nature of children's relationships with police at their school. The discussions lasted approximately 35 minutes; they were tape-recorded and later transcribed. Notes were taken on interactions between participants. Although there were some disruptive students, the feedback was positive and provided a different kind of educational experience for the pupils. I acted as moderator, since the discussions with the young people needed structure.

Participants were pupils studying in the same class and with shared understandings of class/school culture and were part of an existing group dynamic. The group discussion is an appropriate research tool for exposure to a wide range of opinions, and for exploring interactions between participants. It was intended to assess whether participants were able to attribute meaning to the *police* — to access meaning through the use of social representation. Such a method compensates for the weaknesses of other methods (whether it is an individual interview, or a self-completion questionnaire) by replicating real-life interactions and knowledge generation and negotiation. The questions aimed to: 1) gather factual information on familiarity with the police; and 2) provoke a meaningful discussion about the police's role. The focus-group protocol included the following questions:

- What comes to your mind when you think of the police officer in your school?
- Do you know the name of the police officer who works at this school?
- What sort of things does he/she do in this school? What of these would you consider the most important?
- How is it different from the job the police are doing in your neighbourhood?
- Do you think people you know around your own age would be more likely to tell that particular officer if something bad had happened to them? Why?
- Is there anything the police can do to make young people feel safer while in school or on the way home?

I examined recurring themes from the group discussion. However, I could not carry out a full

thematic analysis because the dataset was small. Citations from the transcribed discussions are incorporated into Chapters 5 and 6.

Revised survey administration (May – June 2008)

Data were collected at the end of the 2008 school year (May–June 2008). The Learning Trust facilitated communication with schools. The head teachers suggested that the survey be distributed during 'life skills' and 'citizenship' lessons to best fit into the curriculum, and suggested that I be available to answer students' questions. (See Appendix 7 for the revised survey.)

I provided an introduction to the survey prior to its dissemination. I was present in the class while the pupils completed the survey. Help was offered, and pupils were encouraged to ask questions. Classroom behaviour was generally respectful. There were two classes in which the pupils were more defiant and answered back to the teacher. By and large, the pupils were positive about completing the survey.

Survey data

The quantitative analyses are based on descriptive and inferential statistics. There were three strands of inquiry: (1) a general evaluation of police in schools (based on one item); (2) a general evaluation of police in the neighbourhood (based on one item); and (3) specific attitudes toward police (based on mean score of 11 attitudinal items).

Overall measure vs. specific measure of attitudes to police

A single-item measure operationalised by 'Overall, do you think the police are doing a good or a poor job?' offers a snapshot of public regard for the police and is used more often in police research than a multi-item measure. The advantages of such a measure in research settings are economy, comparability, and reflection on overall negative or positive orientation; it is also easier to operationalise and communicate to a wide audience. However, overall measures can undermine validity as they overlook nuanced understanding, sophistication and the soundness of components comprising this construct. Finally, there is evidence that the more general the question, the more positive the response tends to be (Gallagher *et al.*, 2001). People who answer specific questions are less inclined to choose midpoint (i.e. neutral) responses.

There is a discussion in the policing literature that treating confidence in the police as a global measure runs the risk that, in the process, the whole does not accurately reflect its parts but is

used indiscriminately (Myhill *et al.*, 2011). FitzGerald (2010) argues that it is unclear whether the 'confidence' indicator measures what it is intended to measure, and also whether a global measure summarising many aspects in one indicator is superior to multiple measures for assessing police legitimacy and performance. Since drawing conclusions based on a single indicator can be misleading, having *both* overall and specific measures is beneficial in providing a detailed map of the relative importance of the factors in constructing and informing the overall evaluation of the police. The specific measures built up factors that can then be analysed in their own right.

This study examines the legal attitudes of BME young people, underlying the legal socialisation process occurring in adolescence. The demographic, social capital, and school hypotheses below are derived from the Legal Development theory (Levine and Tapp, 1977) and Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Ecological Systems theory. Bronfenbrenner's theory takes into consideration the impact of the complex environment on the developing person. The crime association hypotheses derived from the Fear of Crime cluster theories (Jackson & Bradford, 2009; Skogan 2009) informed by developmental crime theories: the Developmental Theory of Crime (Moffit, 1993) and the age-graded theory of Crime (Sampson & Laub, 2005). The contact hypothesis is derived from the Asymmetry in the Impact of Encounters with Police theory (Skogan, 2006).

3.4 Hypotheses, data considerations and variables

I devised the following set of hypotheses in response to relevant literature regarding attitudes toward the police and the Ecological Systems Theory framework. Because evidence surrounding these attitudes and their correlates remains inconclusive (barring age and offending) – and for the sake of consistency – I have posed all of my hypotheses bi-directionally. Drawing on Ecological Systems Theory, the hypotheses fall into three categories: individual (age, gender, SES), contextual (contact with the police), and social (friendship and support networks) influences. I divided the hypotheses into two sets (general evaluation and specific attitudes) to account for the development of legal socialisation, or what Tapp (1976) describes as the reduced personalisation of authority figures and their functions.

3.4.1 Hypotheses: General evaluation

H1: *General attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood/school will differ by ethnic background.*

H2: *General attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood/school will differ by generational status.*

H3: *General attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood/school will differ by other demographic indicators: age, gender, eligibility for free school meals.*

H4: *General attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood/school will vary among participants depending on direct and indirect experience with the police.*

H5: *General attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood/school will vary among participants depending on victimisation and offending experience.*

H6: *General attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood/school will vary among participants depending how safe they feel in the neighbourhood and/or school.*

H7: *General attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood/school will vary among participants depending on type of social networks.*

H8: *General attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood/school will vary among participants depending on the size of their support network.*

***H9**: General attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood/school will vary between schools.*

3.4.2 Hypotheses: Specific attitudes

H1: *Specific attitudes toward the school police will differ by age.*

H2: *Specific attitudes toward school police in school will differ by gender.*

H3: *Specific attitudes toward the school police will differ by receiving free meals.*

H4: *Specific attitudes toward the school police will differ by generation.*

H5: *Specific attitudes toward the school police will differ by ethnicity.*

H6: *Specific attitudes toward school police will vary among participants depending on type of contact with the police (direct/indirect.)*

H7: *Specific attitudes toward school police will vary among participants depending on level of satisfaction from contact.*

H8: *Specific attitudes toward school police will vary among participants, depending on whether or not they have been victims of crime.*

H9: *Specific attitudes toward school police will vary among participants depending on whether or not they have committed an offence.*

H10: *Specific attitudes toward school police will vary among participants depending on whether or not they feel safe in school.*

H11: *Specific attitudes toward school police will vary among participants depending on the type of network with which they are associated.*

H12: *Specific attitudes toward school police will differ by membership of ethnic networks.*

H13: *Specific attitudes toward school police will differ by the size of the support network.*

3.4.3 Data considerations

Measurements and data analysis

Assumptions about the data were checked and met for potential to generalise beyond the sample. These included variable types, non-zero variance, no perfect multicollinearity, predictors are not correlations with external variables and normally-distributed errors. I performed the data analysis in three steps: First, I screened data for missing data and influential outliers; 2.5 SD and greater were flagged and explored (analyses were run with and without the outliers). Second, I performed preliminary analyses using Chi-square tests, ANOVA and *t*-tests. Third, Logistic and OLS regression models were used to assess the effects of the variables on general and specific attitudes to the police.

Data cleaning

As specified above, there were three strands of inquiry: a general evaluation of police in school, a general evaluation of police in the neighbourhood and specific attitudes toward the police in school only. SPSS was used for the quantitative analyses. Data cleaning was carried out as follows:

Outliers

Cases at 2.5 SD from 'all attitudes' mean and over were excluded from the analyses (cases: 43, 161, 206, 154 and 203).

Missing values

322 questionnaires were collected, but 7 questionnaire returns were omitted as they were only very partly completed (leaving a total of 315 to be analysed). Values missing at random (i.e., incomplete data) were not dropped or substituted with the mean but were included (e.g. some respondents answered some of the specific attitudinal questions, or the general evaluation

question about police in school but not in the neighbourhood). Missing values that were not at random (an entire scale, or more than 50 per cent of answers) were omitted from the analysis using a listwise deletion process. The number of cases entered into the logistic regression was 169. The number of cases entered to the multiple regression was 200. About 10 per cent of respondents withheld information about their ethnicity.

Other missing cases were likely due to absenteeism - pupils who normally attend the schools and would otherwise have been included in the questionnaire. Selective absence, is caused for instance by illness, needing to work to support the family or a disabled parent, or fear of bullying (as indicated by SSP officers).

Power (1-β error probability)

Power, or the likelihood that a test will capture an effect if there is one to be captured is important to ensure the study is sound. In this study I had somewhat limited control over the sample size and could calculate the power only after the collection and cleaning of data (i.e., omitting the invalid returns). I checked the power of the fit of the multiple regression model for specific attitudes towards the police in school [R^2 =.42 R=.64] using the free online tool G*Power 3.1.

The 'computer achieved power: given **α**, sample size and effect size' power analysis results showed that the power of the test was 1, indicating a high likelihood that a large effect (using Cohen's (1988) criterion) would be detected where it occurred. Results were confirmed by consulting Miles and Shevlin's (2001) guide, which indicates the sample size required to achieve different levels of statistical power for different levels of effect. Their guideline suggests if the effect size is medium to large, the sample size does not need to be large, regardless of the number of predictors. However, my study's sample size would be too small to reliably detect small effect.

There are a few caveats to consider when interpreting the power analysis findings: 1) Retrospective power analyses are problematic since they "are based on the highly questionable assumption that the sample effect size is essentially identical to the effect size in the population from which it was drawn (Zumbo & Hubley, 1998 in Faul *et al.*, 2007:176)". 2) The sample is not representative. The non-random selection of school compromises the integrity of the findings. 3) As blocks of variables are added to regression models, the power to detect effects decreases. Missing cases and more predictors make it more difficult to detect small effects, and

I only conducted a power test for the overall fit of the multiple regression model – not for the individual predictors. The analysis would have benefited from a hierarchical design applied to a greater sample size (both in terms of schools and pupils). I was able to control for schools – but not classes – even though students are nested within classes within schools.

3.4.4 Variables and measurement

General evaluation of police (single attitudinal item)

Young people may see or have contact with different police forces involved in policing London: police in school, the Safer Neighbourhood team, and the general MPS (Metropolitan Police Service). The research goal was to limit the scope so as to be able to test the hypotheses as neatly as possible. Pupils were asked to evaluate the police's overall job in their neighbourhood and in school. Questions were adapted from the BCS (now CSEW). The aim in including this measure was to tap into general impressions that pupils hold of police in both areas and to examine how those impressions feed into specific attitudes and *vice versa*. Another objective was to compare the evaluations of police in schools and in neighbourhoods.

Answers ranged from 'excellent' to 'very poor'. In the analysis, the answers were recoded as positive and negative evaluations. 'Excellent' and 'good' were recoded as 'positive' (coded as 0). 'Fair', 'poor' and 'very poor' were recoded as 'negative' (coded as 1).

Logistic regression analyses were conducted to determine the unique contribution of correlates to the probability of negative general evaluations of police in school and in the neighbourhood. Identical models were created for police in school and police in the neighbourhood. Correlates were entered in blocks, in the following order: demographics, contact, social networks.

Specific attitudes (eleven attitudinal items)

Reliability tests to check for internal consistency were run for items loading on each factor and scale. The measure of specific attitudes was a composite score of eleven attitudinal items loaded on three components, plus one stand-alone item: obligation to obey the law (see question 14, Appendix 7).

Pupils assessed their evaluations of the police by indiviating on a 4-point Likert scale their level of agreement with the target statements (see below). Likert-scale items were treated as interval scale.

I employed Factor Analysis to establish whether the items adapted from Sunshine and Tyler (2003) would load onto the same scales in the School Survey. I treated attitudes as intervals. Three mean scores were computed for the sub-scales based on the FCA: (1) co-operation, (2) performance and (3) fair treatment. Factor scores were saved to create a single index for each construct.

Preliminary analyses included bivariate correlations**,** *t*-tests, and ANOVAs to examine group attitudes toward the police and to ascertain if they were significantly different. OLS regression analyses were conducted to determine the unique contribution of variables to the prediction of specific attitudes toward police in school. Variables were entered in three blocks in the following order: demographics, contact with police and social networks/capital.

Demographic variables

Age. Measured in years. Participant ages ranged from 11 to 17 years, pre-puberty to pre-adult. There is wide agreement among criminologists about the age–crime curve (Moffitt, 1993; Sampson & Laub, 2003). Pre-puberty to pre-adulthood covers the peak ages of offending in the UK, which are between 15-17 years (McVie, 2005)

Ethnicity. The chief focus of the investigation. The question was adapted from the 2001 Census (ONS, 2001). The Census ethnicity categories were re-ordered into finer ethnic categories corresponding to the research interest. For the analyses, I created dummy variables for Kurdish-Turkish, Caribbean, African, Asian (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and other Asian backgrounds), and Other categories; the baseline variable was White. I derived additional measures pertaining to membership in an ethnic group from social capital variables.

'Mixed heritage with Black origin' was recoded to Black. Growing evidence, mainly from the US (Shih & Sanchez, 2005; Peery & Bodenhausen, 2008), shows that Black/non-Black biracial groups predominantly affiliate with Black rather than with the non-Black heritage group. They are more likely to demonstrate similarities in terms of their socio-demographic profile and attitudes with young people whose parents are both Black. The data supported recoding 'mixed heritage' with 'Black background (one parent Black)' to the Black ethnic group.

Generational status. This was controlled for, following the recent discussion in the literature

on the impact of generational status on crime, identity, relationship with authorities (Bucerius, 2011; Morenoff, & Astor, 2006; Piquero, Farrington & Blumstein, 2007), and relationship with and attitudes toward the police (Skogan, 2006; Correia, 2010; Bowling, Phillips & Parmar, 2008). Questions on the migration status of the respondents and their parents were consolidated to create new categories of generational status: immigrant, first-generation (born in the UK, both parents born elsewhere) and second-generation (one or two parents born in the UK, participant born in the UK). Dummy variables were created for immigrant and first-generation individuals (the baseline variable was second-generation).

Gender. Coded as: Female = 0, Male = 1.

Socioeconomic status. Receipt of free school meals was an indicator of low SES. The variable was coded: not receiving free meal = 0; receiving free meal = 1. There is evidence that low socio-economic status predicts legal cynicism and lower satisfaction with the police (Huang & Vaughn, 1996; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998). It is also noted in the literature that SES is closely associated with ethnicity, residential area/neighbourhood (Weitzer, 2000; Hoare *et al.*, 2011) and generational status, and this was considered in the analysis and interpretation.

Crime-related Variables

Offending. Two measures were created. The first was 'yes' (coded 1) or 'no' (coded 0) to 'Have you offended in the past year?' This measure was used in the models testing for general evaluation of police in the neighbourhood and school. The second measure was a variety score (number of different types of offences), giving insight into scope and diversity as opposed to frequency of offending; the frequency of offences was not included. Research carried out within the life-course framework has found that offending frequency and offending variety are highly correlated (Monahan & Piquero, 2009). A verity measure was used in the model testing for specific attitudes. As head teachers were reluctant to allow some questions about offending and victimisation, a few items were omitted.

Victimisation. Two measures were created. The first was 'yes' (coded 1) or 'no' (coded 0) to "Have you been victimised in the past year?" This measure was used in the models testing for a general evaluation of police in the neighbourhood and school. The second measure was a variety score providing insight into the scope rather than the frequency of victimisation. This measure was used in the model testing for specific attitudes.

Perceptions of safety in the neighbourhood and school. Following the work of Reisig and Parks (2004) and Weitzer and Tuch (2004), which shows a link between concerns about crime (i.e. level of worry and perceived safety, disorder) and confidence in the police, measures of worry/safety were included. Fear of crime and incivility indices were adapted from BCS and the 2006/7 MPS Safer Neighbourhoods Survey (SNS).

One variable was created to hold the mean score of neighbourhood safety items ("I feel safe walking alone in my neighbourhood during daylight hours"; "I feel safe walking alone in my neighbourhood after dark"). The mean score was dichotomised as 'safe' (coded 0) *versus* 'unsafe' (coded 1). Further, although the 'safety in school' scale contained more items, a reliability test revealed low internal reliability; therefore, only one item was entered into the OLS and logistics models. The "Feel safe in school" item was dichotomised as 'safe' (coded 0) *versus* 'unsafe' (coded 1).

Contact variables

The impact of public encounters with the police was assessed on pupils' attitudes and evaluation of the police. Several questions were adapted from Safer Neighbourhoods by the MPS online questionnaire (2007). The contact questions, set in a timeframe (since 2007, the beginning of the school year), asked about the police officer in school, and addressed the following variables:

*Frequency***.** Answers to "frequency of noticing police in school" were on a continuum that ranged from 'daily' to 'never' (at least daily, at least weekly, at least every two weeks, at least monthly, less often than once per month, never). This was especially interesting as it was based on cognitive and perceptual processing of visual information. This measure related to the wide body of work carried out by the UK's National Reassurance Policing Programme (NRPP) between 2003 and 2005, which proposed that increased police visibility and contact with the public alleviated public anxieties and increased confidence in the police.

Reasons for contact. Answers were assigned to the following categories: 1) 'neutral' (a general chat); 2) 'contact initiated by the police' (the school officer stopped and searched me; the school officer asked me to move on; the school officer asked me about something my friends or I did); and 3) 'contact initiated by the student' (I asked the school officer for advice or information; I reported a dangerous or suspicious activity in or around school; I told the school officer that

something was stolen from me; I told the school officer that I was threatened; I told the school officer that I was physically attacked; I told the school officer that I was verbally abused). There was scope to add personalised (open-ended) answers. Answers to 'reason for contact' question were not used in the statistical models.

Quality of contact. This was measured on a 4-point Likert scale (very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, very dissatisfied) and coded as three dummy variables: no contact (baseline category), satisfactory contact, and dissatisfactory contact.

Direct/indirect contact. A new contact variable was computed, to include four categories combining personal contact and friend contact with police in school. The baseline category was 'no personal contact and no friend's contact' (respondent had no contact & friend had no contact; respondent had contact & friend had no contact; respondent had no contact & friend had contact; both respondent and friend had contact).

Social capital variables

This review shows that how individuals are socialised determines how they interact with the legal system. By including indices of social ties and social support, it was hoped to shed light on pupils' stock of social capital and to explore its relationship with crime and attitudes toward the police.

Routine activities. This question helped to ascertain whether pupils were engaged in altruistic and group activities or in more hedonistic and individualistic activities outside school. Voluntary associations tap into social capital (social embeddedness). Putnam's (1995) observation of declining social capital was measured by the shrinkage of membership in voluntary organisations. Activities were coded '0' or '1' to negative or affirmative answers respectively.

Friendship. "Do you have a group of friends with whom you meet regularly?" Answering 'yes' routed the participants to the following question: "Who are your friends?" Association with a specific group of friends was coded '1'. This question attempted to typify the social group(s) that respondents associate with and flag up ethnicity-based homogenous groups ("The friends with whom I spend the most time: are immediate family, are extended family, are from the same ethnic background, speak the same non-English language."). Different aspects of ethnicity

are often confounded (Blau *et al.*, 1984, 1991; Blum, 1984) and may contribute to homophily in social networks.

Data were analysed to determine whether friends from immediate family and friends from the same ethnic background were inter-related. The contingency coefficient value was of .121 ($p<0.05$) indicating a low degree of association between the two variables.

Group attributes. This question was developed to cast light on the nature of attachment to the group and to determine the behavioural properties of friendship networks ("Being part of this group provides you with: respect from others outside this group, support, a feeling of belonging, a sense of power"). This was a 4-point Likert-scale question (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree).

Social support. Three questions were devised to explore participants' networks of support, drawing on the on Communities that Care Survey, 2007: "When you have a personal problem, with whom do you talk? Who notices? Who would you ask for advice?" The options included: parent(s) or adult(s) I live with; sibling(s); friends(s); teacher(s); mentor(s); other(s) and none. Respondents could choose more than one option. This measure is a count of the number of social ties that represents the size of social support network.

3.5 Ethics

The aim of this study was not only to examine people's experiences with and evaluations of the police, but to do so within the framework of ethical sensitivity and in accordance with British Sociological Association (BSA) and ESRC ethical guidelines[16] to protect participants' rights and to ensure study integrity. Ethical elements were implemented throughout the research process, from project design, through the recruitment of participants, administration, to the final stage of reporting. Anonymity and confidentiality were assured (orally and in writing), and participants could withdraw their consent to participate at any time. Regardless of the participants' backgrounds, their contact with the police and attitudes toward them were serious matters not subsequently disclosed, and this highlighted the need for sensitivity and discretion. Throughout the research stages, I was mindful of possible adverse consequences to individual

[16] http://www.esrc.ac.uk/funding/guidance-for-applicants/research-ethics/our-core-principles/

participants and their communities.

The participants belonged to different social groups: ethnic minorities, low socio-economic status, and children. In the participants' pool there were also refugees and immigrants with unsettled immigration status, which also required special ethical attention, including the protection of identity.

3.5.1 Researching ethnic communities

Increasing attention is being given to ethnicity and race in contemporary criminological, medical, psychological and sociological research. Numerous books and working papers have reviewed how to conduct research in a diverse society (Bulmer & Solomos, 2004; Salway *et al.*, 2009, Salway *et al.*, 2011). Conducting research across any cultural context requires attention to ethics and probably involves an asymmetric power relationship between researcher and subjects (Marshall & Batten, 2004). The researcher must also be respectful and accommodating toward differing ethical and racial requirements participants may have. As such, some participants did not agree to conversations being recorded; others requested that I adhere to a certain dress code when meeting with them. I was mindful of language barriers, and repeated questions and clarified ideas. I was critically reflective of my own Jewish ethnic background and social positioning and how these factors shaped my research approach as I tried to remain impartial and objective.

3.5.2 Researching young people

According to the UN convention on the Rights of the Child, "children" are "all those under 18 years of age" (UN, 1989). The realm of social research with children seems to have no developed or formalised codes of practice and guidelines like those in medical research, even though there is a growing interest in such research (Morrow, 2005). Children are considered to be more vulnerable, and with different competencies and less power or status, than adult participants. They therefore require respect and understanding of their special place in society.

Ethical issues in this study arose from the early stage of project design. While trying to ask comprehensive questions, I sought to develop a short and concise research instrument. After The Learning Trust granted me access, head teachers sent letters to parents informing them of the research and giving them the opportunity for their children to opt out. I was cleared by the CRB before making any contact with children. In focus-group discussions (which took place

prior to the School Survey to pilot the questionnaire), participants who wanted to take a break or felt uncomfortable with a topic were allowed to withdraw to the side (drawing materials and Sudoku games were offered).

Working with children presented some ethical dilemmas that were not anticipated by codes or guidelines and required the use of common sense. Some children in the focus groups demonstrated challenging behaviour (e.g. they were disrespectful, uninterested, or loud). They were given the option to go back to class if they did not want to participate. Some children asked questions about my academic and personal background, and I had to be mindful of the information I chose to share in the interest of building rapport. The misunderstanding of instructions occasionally became an issue: for example, when some children wrote their full names on the returned questionnaire, it was explained that the study was obliged to keep their identity unknown and that they should thoroughly erase the written details. Children seemed to enjoy taking part in the research, both in focus-group discussions and when completing the survey.

The guiding ethical principle in research with people belonging to vulnerable groups is to remain sensitive to participants' preferences and respectful of their rights (confidentiality and anonymity). To maintain confidence in the process, information about the study was provided to all participants, with an offer to report results back to participants (e.g. the Learning Trust, police, and community leaders). I provided my contact details as well, and participants were encouraged to contact me with any concerns or questions they had.

3.6 Limitations

In this study, I seek to conduct an in-depth investigation of a social phenomenon: to understand how people think about and interact with the police in an ethnically diverse locale. I sought to unearth socio-psychological mechanisms related to social representations of and specific attitudes toward the police and to understand the effect of contact with the police upon these attitudes. I drew on different research orientations and principles for each phase. While the different approaches could be seen as a limitation of the study, it was appropriate for the research objective: understanding a complex social phenomenon.

Although the generalisability of results may be limited, Hackney is not a rare case in a

globalised environment. If this study were to be replicated, a different demographic composition could be expected, but characteristics of relationships of certain groups with the police and attitudes toward them would probably remain the same, particularly since social mechanisms and processes underlying the 'neighbourhood effect' are durable (Sampson, 2012). This study is a snapshot in time: Hackney is a 'zone in transition' and probably will remain so in the future; although its composition may change, the characteristics of different groups will probably remain.

3.6.1 Community interview limitations: Sample

I had hoped to conduct more interviews with community stakeholders and expand the scope to other ethnic communities residing in Hackney. Though the small sample fits the main purpose of this research phase, namely to gain a deeper understanding of community-police relationships, the study could have benefited from a larger sample, with more participants from each selected community, particularly from the African and Caribbean groups who, according to the findings, seem to have the most contested relationship with the local police. The refugee community is especially challenging on account of its limited language skills, diverse backgrounds, and lack of (leadership) organisation; the study could have gained from including participants from such groups. While interviews with community leaders were highly informative and presented the unique relationships and difficulties refugees have with the police, there was no way to identify refugees in the School Survey.

The Jewish community was another challenging sector. They took part in the community interviews but not in the School Survey. At the time of data collection they were not part of the Safer School Partnerships, so they did not have police in schools. Nevertheless, interviews with community leaders contributed to understanding social representations and community capacity for collective efficacy, which are discussed at length in Chapter 4.

3.6.2 Focus group limitations: Sample, process and analysis

The small dataset of the focus group, being from only one school, was an obvious drawback. Had the opportunity been presented, I would have organised additional focus groups, ideally one for each participating school. Pupils completed the questionnaire in advance of the focus-group discussions; in an ideal world where participants are easily accessible, they would have been drawn from different samples. Quotations were used only to support quantitative results (Chapters 5 and 6). No thematic analysis was undertaken with these data, owing to their limited

scope.

3.6.3 School survey limitations

Design

Cox (1980), Friedman *et al.* (1981) and Garland (1991) claim that the choice of a number of scale categories is context-specific. The choice of a 4-point Likert scale was driven by research showing that people tend to dwell more on the midpoint of 'neither/nor'. Or sometimes, as for the 'social desirability' bias, that means respondents do not want to provide undesired answers. By being denied this midpoint option respondents were forced to take a stance, which was particularly important in a sample of school pupils. This proved successful in most cases; however, in several cases participants added a mid-point or wrote in a neither/nor on the questionnaire.

Regarding reasons for contact with the police, fewer than a third of the sample had any contact. Two recoding schemes were applied: (1) positive/negative, and (2) police/pupil initiated/neutral categories. The latter was more informative, but it created more categories and smaller cells.

The question about friendship attributes examines the qualities of groups of friends while assuming only one group of friends. In reality, people may have more than one group of friends. The question on grades was omitted, since grading systems were not consistent throughout the schools.

Sample

In Skinners', a single-sex school for girls, the question about police officers treating boys and girls equally was not relevant. This was taken into consideration in the analysis by omitting the item for this school.

The girls' and boys' populations were unequal: girls comprised 58 per cent of the sample, and boys 42 per cent. This reflects an uneven distribution of gender in Hackney at that time (GLA, 2009[17]). Weighting was considered, but I decided to leave things as they were because the discrepancy was small, the sample itself was small, and it was a true reflection of the school population in Hackney as of 2007/8 (The Learning Trust, 2008).

[17] https://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/2009-round-population-projections/resource/77fe317f-4029-4718-b00d-ef94408aa696

Selective absence due to illness or truancy was acknowledged (although accurate numbers could not be obtained). Furthermore, special cases were acknowledged; they concerned those who were in the category of offenders and those who decided not to go to school because they were afraid of being bullied (although accurate numbers could not be obtained). Some missing cases occurred at random (questions not answered). Some missing cases were attributable to the structural limitation (i.e. use of pilot questionnaire returns).

Representativeness and validity

The generalizability of findings from self-report questionnaires is limited for the following reasons: social-desirability bias,[18] not fully understanding what anonymity means (some wrote their names on the cover), and possible cases without full command in English. Shadowing/observation helped to compensate for possible questionnaire shortcomings. While the sample may be representative (through stratified random selection) of the population of Hackney in terms of gender, ethnic background and poverty indicator (Free School Meal statistics), it is not representative of the UK population. Even if the sample were representative of Hackney school children, it would differ from many places elsewhere. However, with the growing number of urban enclaves, this study may tell a story that fits other places with similar characteristics.

Analysis

Schools are embedded in different ecological settings; schools run by different people each have a different ethos and produce a different internal culture. Given the personal interpretation of SSP guidelines by the assigned police officer in each school and varying school cultures, it was reasonable to expect an impact on attitudes toward the police. Including dummy variables for schools enabled some of the discrimination between schools to be identified but, while schools were variables in the models, classes were not.

I acknowledge that it would have been preferable to carry out hierarchical linear modelling (HLM). This technique is often used in educational settings when nested data are available. However, since there were only four participating schools (Snijders & Bosker, 2012 refer to a minimum of 10 schools for HLM analysis), the inferential statistical techniques I decided upon

[18] Social desirability bias refers to the tendency of research subjects to give socially desirable responses instead of choosing responses that are reflective of their true feelings.

were multiple regression and logistic regression, not HLM, but with school controls (as dummy variables). The other statistical techniques are not without risks. Known potential problems with binary and multiple regressions are 1) multicollinearity and 2) the order of entering groups of variables to the regression in determining the results.

3.7 Chapter summary

In Chapter 3, I have reviewed the epistemological rationale for the methods chosen and applied in this study. The understanding of BME community-police relationships, led by theoretical principles for empirical inquiry and by taking a pluralistic stance on the nature of evidence, characterises my inquiry.

Chapter 4 will be the first of three empirical chapters. It focuses on unraveling the Hackney context by discussing the borough's socio-demographic profile. It presents the participating communities, their histories and past relationships with the police, explores ethnic and national identities, and examines how these may be related to common ideas about the police.

4. ETHNIC MINORITIES IN HACKNEY

4.1 Chapter overview

In this chapter, I introduce the research setting and then focus on specific ethnic and religious communities' relationships with the police in Hackney. This reflects the first empirical element of the study, which explores communities' collective efficacy and its impact on working relationships with the police. I review communities' perceptions of the police, including their historical relationship and second- and first-hand contact, by linking knowledge construction and identity processes that are mediated through the police.

4.2 Research settings

I begin with London and moves on to Hackney's evolution: its population trends, socio-economic makeup, ethnic diversity, education system, crime and police 'response to crime'.

4.2.1 London's changing landscape: A globalised city

Throughout history, England – and especially London – has been home to new migrants. Mass migration from its Commonwealth members (mainly Caribbean, Indian and Pakistani) followed the British Nationality Act 1948, which permitted millions of British Empire subjects to live and work in the United Kingdom without a visa. After Britain joined the European Union, approximately 1,500,000 economic migrants ventured to the UK between 2004 and 2009. The net migration of non-EU citizens has been higher than net migration of EU citizens since 1980 (ONS, 2014). Today's immigration to the UK can be attributed to four main factors: economic, family, asylum-seeking, and education.

London is one of the world's most diverse metropolitan areas. The 2011 Census data show that nearly 60 per cent of the London population is White, representing a 14.9 per cent decline since 2001 (ONS). Over 25 per cent of the residents of ten London boroughs (out of a total of 32) are born outside the country, which suggests the existence of ethnic enclaves. Laguerre's (2008) term 'global ethnopolises' aptly describes the population structure of certain cities within the European Union, such as Berlin, Paris and London.

The Greater London Authority (GLA) provides routine ethnic group population projections. Based on demographic trends reported in the 2001 Census, it has incorporated recent estimates of international flows to and from each London borough. The following table (4.1) displays 2001-2031 population projections for Greater London.

Table 4.1 Summary of ethnic group population projection for Greater London

	2001	2006	2011	2016	2021	2026	2031
Total	7,336,000	7,559,900	7,900,500	8,314,900	8,581,900	8,745,600	8,840,100
White	5,216,100	5,131,000	5,188,400	5,327,800	5,404,000	5,440,400	5,454,000
Black Caribbean	351,000	358,500	371,200	388,000	399,600	408,100	414,800
Black African	389,700	455,200	509,800	565,100	602,200	625,900	639,900
Black Other	169,200	193,900	218,200	241,100	257,500	269,300	277,300
Indian	446,600	488,900	529,900	571,200	599,800	619,400	631,800
Pakistani	146,400	169,600	192,100	213,700	228,600	238,400	245,000
Bangladeshi	158,200	172,100	188,700	206,500	220,900	230,800	238,600
Other Asian	198,400	232,500	264,700	294,200	313,600	326,000	333,100
Chinese	82,400	100,600	115,500	130,100	140,300	147,300	152,000
Other	178,900	257,600	321,900	377,300	415,400	439,800	453,600
BAME*	2,120,000	2,428,900	2,712,100	2,987,100	3,177,900	3,305,200	3,386,100

Source: http://data.london.gov.uk/datastore/package/egp-2010rnd-shlaa-borough (Access Date: 4th July 2014)

*BAME = Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic.

The population of London is projected to increase by 12 per cent between 2011 and 2031; the Black Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) population is projected to experience an overall increase of 25 per cent. The greatest proportionate increases are projected to be in the Other group (41 per cent) and the Chinese group (32 per cent). The Black African, Black Other, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Other Asian populations are projected to increase by between 26 per cent and 28 per cent. The Black Caribbean group is projected to increase by only 11 per cent.

Cities like London, which experience accelerated growth, are the most vulnerable to social instability. While London is the main provider of the UK GDP (GLA, 2016), areas within greater London are failing and are subject to concentrated disadvantage, leading to social inequality between neighbourhoods. This phenomenon often coincides with ethnic segregation, resulting in ethnic enclaves. Pockets of concentrated disadvantage can affect well-being in

terms of crime, health, and education (though the latter to a lesser extent in recent years), but the underlying theme is poverty. Scholars such as McKay (1942), Wilson (1988) and Massey (1994) have shown that social problems occur in clusters. Concurrently, evidence shows that indicators of social progress (marked by increasing wealth) also tend to cluster geographically (OECD, 2016). As in other contemporary cities, London shows deep divisions between neighbourhoods and boroughs across wide-ranging social indicators.

4.2.2 The London Borough of Hackney

Hackney, one of 14 inner-city boroughs within the Greater London area, is located in the northeast of the city and is one of the smallest (19 square kilometres) and most densely populated (11,133.3 residents/km^2). The borough contains 19 electoral wards[19] and four neighbourhoods. 'Neighbourhoods' call to mind physical proximity and variable social interaction (Sampson, 2012). People in neighbourhoods and boroughs are not just analytical units. Neighbourhoods carry symbolic meaning, especially if the socio-demographic characteristics of their dwellers are alike and are just one level of association that residents may share.

Before describing Hackney in detail, it is useful to see how it compares to other areas. Appendix 1 selectively presents GLA data for Hackney, Greater London and England for the following indicators: demography, labour market, community safety, housing, deprivation, children and health. This table reveals interesting contrasts that suggest bi-modal or tri-modal[20] distribution, tying in with the idea of urban inequality, which results in great contrasts between neighbourhoods. Self-selection bias, or the effect of people grouping themselves together on the basis of common characteristics, also contributes to this dynamic (Wilson cited in Sampson, 2012:ix). Hackney consists of disparate areas, some with higher income and some with lower income. Rather more people than the national average (see Appendix 1) are out of work, with 19 per cent claiming out-of-work benefits, and 41 per cent are renting from Local Authorities. However, the average salary is the London average, and house prices are higher than those for either London or England. Hackney's teenage conception rate is higher than the London rate and the England rate.

[19] The ward is an administrative division of a city or borough.
[20] A continuous probability distribution with two or three different modes.

4.2.3 Hackney past and present

Like other areas in London, Hackney was initially a rural community. Industrial development in the late 18th century drew new residents to the area. During the second half of the 19th century, Hackney experienced rapid residential growth, and farmland and estates were built over to accommodate incoming workers' needs. Over the course of the 20th century, Hackney experienced turbulent times. The economic downturn of the 1980s and 1990s left many of Hackney's menial workers in local industries without jobs (Rix, 1997). Writings on East London clearly convey the landscape: "East London… is a distinctive region. It has had, over two centuries, a concentration of the poor, of newcomers and immigrants, often from overseas, and of polluting industries which were unwelcome in more privileged districts" (Rustin 1996:2). The White British population declined as a result of the decay of inner-city areas, slum clearance programmes, the relocation of local industry out of Hackney and the movement of middle-class residents to newer suburbs (2011, Hackney factsheet produced by Hackney Council). However, this is only one population trend the borough of Hackney has experienced.

In the last few decades, standards of living in some parts of the borough have been improving, and Hackney is becoming a more attractive neighbourhood for two reasons: (1) it is a residential area in close proximity to the city and is thus highly prized, and (2) it was chosen as one of the 2012 Olympic host boroughs. Although postdating this study, it is difficult to ignore the growing gentrification of Hackney, which creates a stark variability between neighbourhoods and smaller geographical areas. For example, Chatsworth Road residents include City high-earners living alongside lower-SES families (Holland, 2012).

4.2.4 Hackney population

Hackney is growing fast. According to the 2001 Census, Hackney had a population of 202,824. The Office for National Statistics (ONS) 2009 mid-year estimates indicated that Hackney's population has grown significantly, to 216,000. More recent estimates, according to the 2011 Census, show Hackney's population to be 246,270. This indicates an increase of 20 per cent in 10 years. Hackney is one of the five fastest-growing London boroughs, according to the first 2011 Census release. Longer-term GLA estimates (based on ONS figures) suggest that Hackney's population will grow by 15.7 per cent to 262,000 people by 2029.

The 2011 Census shows that children (aged 0-14 years) comprise 20 per cent of the Hackney population. According to the Learning Trust, over the short term Hackney is becoming younger on average. This population growth is mainly attributed to the fast-growing BAME communities but is also in line with global trends, which suggest that the proportion of young people tends to be higher in poorer areas (Muggah, 2014).

4.2.5 Hackney socio-economic characteristics

While the evidence shows a more complex picture, according to the Index of Multiple Deprivation (Noble *et al.*, 2008), Hackney is the second most deprived local authority in England: 54 per cent of Hackney's Super Output Areas (SOAs) fall into the top 10 per cent of the most deprived SOAs in England, and 88 per cent fall into the top 20 per cent most deprived SOAs in England. The borough also suffers from high unemployment rates and high population turnover; although income has been growing and has now reached the London average (£32,000 for 2011, GLA), pockets of poverty are scattered in the borough. Approximately 65 per cent of Hackney residents live in rented accommodation, and 41 per cent live in social housing (GLA). Nearly 40 per cent of Hackney families receive benefit support.

Under the Child Poverty Act 2010, children are defined as being in relative poverty if they live in a household with an income of less than 60 per cent of the national equivalised median income. In 2007 the Hackney child poverty level was the third-highest in London and significantly higher than the London average (Strategic Policy and Research Team, LBH, 2009). Free School Meals entitlement provides an additional measure of levels of child poverty in the borough: 35 per cent of pupils in Hackney's primary schools and 36 per cent of pupils in Hackney's secondary schools are eligible for free school meals; these levels are about double the national average (Hackney Council Report, 2013).

The Hackney Council Report (2013) points to spatial patterns of child poverty in Hackney, with some wards suffering greater child poverty than others. Some wards in central Hackney, particularly in the south and east of the borough—such as Wick, Kings Park, Haggerston and Chatham—contain areas where over 50 per cent of children live in poverty.

In November 2000, Hackney was in a difficult state. The council was bankrupt and faced a potential £40 million deficit. All spending, including that in schools, was frozen. Since then, the council has been under stringent financial controls and for the last fourteen years has

managed to keep spending within budget (LBH, 2016). While pressures within Social Services are mounting, extra council earnings come from a recovery in the housing market resulting in the collection of more tax revenues (Hackney's housing prices rose eight-fold in the 30 years from 1980[21]).

4.2.6 Hackney education system

Hackney's formal education system was troublesome for decades. From 1965, the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) was responsible for all inner London boroughs, including Hackney. In 1990, the Inner London local education authorities (LEAs) took over. The LEAs established new organisations to support schools adopting the new national curriculum. However, the new management was failing. In March 1999, the Secretary of State for Education announced that Hackney would be the first LEA to have some of its powers removed, and a three-year contract was agreed with Nord Anglia to run Hackney's Schools (Hackney's Schools Improvement Service and the Ethnic Minority Service). In 2002, Hackney was still at the bottom of the school league tables. 2002 brought another new approach. The Learning Trust, the first not-for-profit private company to run education services for an entire borough, took over in September 2002 with a 10-year contract. The School Survey was administered halfway through the Learning Trust's contract. By 2012, the situation had been radically reversed. By 2012, Hackney's primary and secondary school results were above the national averages. It was a systemic change that transformed the education system and provided evidence that children from deprived backgrounds could perform as well as anyone else (Boyle & Humphreys, 2012).

4.2.7 Hackney ethnicity, religion and language

Hackney has been ethnically diverse for centuries. The first official recording of Black persons residing in Hackney dates back to the 16th or 17th centuries (Hackney council website[22]). East London's dockworkers and seamen from India began to settle in Hackney in the 18th century. Pre- and post-war eras brought dramatic demographic changes: a surge in the number of new immigrants settling in the borough accompanied the decline of the White British population. This trend remained throughout the 20th century. Table 4.2 shows current population trends in Hackney.

[21] https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/feb/06/hackney-house-price-bubble
[22] https://www.hackney.gov.uk/hackney-history

Table 4.2 Hackney ethnic trends

	2001 Census		2011 Census		Change between 2001–2011	
Ethnic Group	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*% change*
White	**120,468**	**59.4**	**134,617**	**54.7**	**14,149**	**12**
British	89,490	44.1	89,030	36.2	–460	–1
Other white	24,861	12.3	39,897	16.2	15,036	60
Irish	6,117	3.0	5,216	2.1	–901	–15
Gypsy or Irish Traveller	NA	NA	474	0.2	NA	NA
Black/Black British		**24.7**	**56,858**	**23.1**	**6,849**	**14**
African	24,290	12.0	27,976	11.4	3,686	15
Caribbean	20,879	10.3	19,168	7.8	–1,711	–8
Other	4,840	2.4	9,714	3.9	4,874	101
Asian/Asian British	**19,791**	**9.8**	**25,867**	**10.5**	**6,076**	**31**
Indian	7,624	3.8	7,599	3.1	–25	0
Other	1,655	0.8	6,747	2.7	5,092	308
Bangladeshi	5,970	2.9	6,180	2.5	210	4
Chinese	2,377	1.2	3,436	1.4	1,059	45
Pakistani	2,165	1.1	1,905	0.8	–260	–12
Mixed	**8,501**	**4.2**	**15,869**	**6.4**	**7,368**	**87**
Other	2,251	1.1	4,994	2.0	2,743	122
White and Black Caribbean	3,075	1.5	4,989	2.0	1,914	62
White and Asian	1,576	0.8	3,020	1.2	1,444	92
White and Black African	1,599	0.8	2,866	1.2	1,267	79
Other	**4,055**	**2.0**	**13,059**	**5.3**	**9,004**	**222**
Any other ethnic group	4,055	2.0	11,338	4.6	7,283	180
Arab	NA	NA	1,721	0.7	NA	NA
TOTAL	**202,824**		**246,270**		**43,446**	**21**

Source: 2001, 2011 Census (Hackney Data)

Figures from the 2001 Census (Table 4.2) show that nearly 56 per cent of the population in Hackney are BAME: Black (25 per cent), Asian (9 per cent), Chinese (3 per cent) Mixed (4 per cent), and White Other (12 per cent). About one in three residents was born outside the UK (Census 2001). Figures from the 2001 Census show a decline in the British population (White British born in the UK) from 44.1 per cent in 2001 to 36 per cent in 2011 (though in absolute numbers this population remained almost the same, because of the general growth of the borough) and an increase in BAME and White Other from 56 per cent in 2001 to 64 per cent in 2011. Local evidence-based surveys show the presence of large Turkish and Haredi

communities. These communities may not be represented adequately in the Census, since they may fall into the 'Other White' group, and possibly comprise a greater share of the population due to high fertility rates. Additional 'hidden' communities residing in the borough are refugees and asylum-seekers.

For the 2001 Census, a voluntary question on religious affiliation was introduced for the first time. The findings related to Hackney's dominant religions at that time were: Christian (46 per cent), Muslim (13 per cent) and Jewish (5 per cent), with nearly 19 per cent of Hackney residents stating that they had no religious affiliation. The 2011 Census shows the following changes: Christian (38.6 per cent), Muslim (14.1 per cent), Jewish (6.3 per cent) and 28.2 per cent professing no religious affiliation. For ethnic groups such as Kurdish/Turkish and Jewish (of Ashkenazi or Mizrahi background) to be accurately represented, a more refined definition and complex manipulation of data are needed.

Most people in Hackney (75.9 per cent) speak English as their main language, while only one per cent cannot speak English at all; the remaining 23 per cent are somewhere in the middle (2011 Census, Hackney Data). Other spoken languages include Turkish (4.5 per cent), Polish (1.7 per cent) and Spanish (1.5 per cent). Census information relating to immigration and generational status shows that 39.1 per cent of the borough's population was born outside the UK. Table 4.3 shows the top 10 countries of birth.

Table 4.3 Top 10 countries of birth for Hackney residents

	2001			2011		
Rank	**Country**	**%**	***N***	**Country**	**%**	***N***
1	Turkey	3.8	7729	Turkey	3.6	8,982
2	Nigeria	3.3	6633	Nigeria	2.7	6,692
3	Jamaica	2.2	4445	Jamaica	1.8	4,444
4	Poland	2.1	4267	Ireland	1.7	4,203
5	Ireland	1.5	3111	India	1.6	3,977
6	India	1.5	3002	Bangladesh	1.2	2,955
7	Bangladesh	1.1	2283	Cyprus	1.1	2,659
8	United States	0.6	1275	Germany	1.1	2,747
9	France	0.6	1267	United States	1.0	2,480
10	Italy	0.5	1051	Pakistan	1.0	2,360

Source: 2001, 2011 Census (Hackney Data)

To varying degrees, ethnic communities in Hackney reflect the sociological characterisation of 'urban enclaves', in which homophily reinforces spatial separation. Hackney's concentrations of minorities have brought about white resentment (around issues of housing, for instance [Mumford & Power, 2003]) and, in extreme cases, racial incidents directed at local residents, on account of their ethnic background or religious affiliation (Tell MaMa publication, 2014; CST, 2013). Unlike most other studies, this one includes Hackney's Turkish, African Black and African Caribbean communities.

4.2.8 Hackney crime and anti-social behaviour

Hackney had the fourth-highest crime rate in London after Westminster, Camden and Islington as of 2009/2010 (Metropolitan Police Service [MPS], 2011). Although its crime rate has outpaced the national average (MPS, 2011), it has declined in recent years, in part reflecting local and national crime trends. Theft, violence against the person (much higher than the London and the England & Wales average), and offences against vehicles are the most common crimes in Hackney. However, since 2003 Hackney's crime rate decreased in all areas except drug-related offences (Hackney Council, 2010), gun crime and youth violence (MPS, MPA). Table 4.4 shows crime-rate trends in Hackney, London and England & Wales from 2003 until 2009. Table 4.5 shows crime rates by crime type in 2009/2010.

Table 4.4 Crime rate (per 1000): Hackney, London, England and Wales

	Hackney	London	England & Wales
2008/9	142	112	86
2007/8	155	115	92
2006/7	150	123	102
2005/6	167	133	105
2004/5	175	138	107
2003/4	186	145	114

Source: Home Office, 2010

Table 4.5 Crime rate (per 1000) by crime type: Hackney, London, England and Wales 2009/2010

	Violence against the person	*Sexual offences*	*Robbery*	*Domestic burglary*	*Theft of motor vehicle*	*Theft from motor vehicle*	*Interfering with motor vehicle*	*Recorded crime BCS offences*
England	15.7	1.0	1.4	5.0	2.2	6.2	0.7	44.7
London	22.8	1.3	4.4	7.9	3.3	9.5	0.6	59.5
Hackney	31.3	2.2	5.1	7.1	3.7	10.6	1.4	73.6

Source: Home Office, 2010 (released on *Regional Trends Online*, 8 December 2010)

According to the People, Perceptions and Place Survey (MORI, 2009a), the local population of Hackney was concerned not only with personal crime, but also with neighbourhood issues. The most prominent worries were people using or dealing drugs, teenagers loitering on the streets, rubbish/litter, and acts of vandalism. The Place Survey (MORI, 2009b**)** indicated that the top two concerns of Hackney residents were crime and clean streets.

Hate crime is addressed by the Hackney Hate-Crime Reduction Strategy 2008-2011. Partnerships and alliances between stakeholders (Council, Learning Trust, MPS) and members of the community were developed to tackle the hate crimes.

Table 4.6 depicts current information comparing Hackney to Greater London (MPS) on hate crime indicators. Numbers should be read with caution as hate crimes tend to be underreported.

Table 4.6 Hate crime data (per 1000)

	December 2013		**December 2014**	
	Hackney	*MPS total*	*Hackney*	*MPS total*
Racist & religious hate crime	38	744	41	945
Homophobic crime	5	94	13	134
Anti-Semitic crime	5	16	8	29
Islamophobic crime	0	31	1	50

Source: http://www.met.police.uk/crimefigures/boroughs.htm (July, 2015)

4.2.9 Police and minorities' relationship in Hackney

Hackney's socio-demographic composition influences crime trends and correspondingly determines the nature of policing within the borough. The history of policing in Hackney shows that activity in the borough has been defined primarily by its multi-ethnic nature. During the pre- and post-WWII eras, Hackney police focused on protecting Jewish residents from anti-Semitic attacks (Roach Family Support Committee, 1989). This relationship of trust between the Jewish community and the police lost its centrality when Commonwealth immigrants arrived in large numbers between 1950 and 1960 and became the focus of police attention.

Colin Roach, who was a young Black British man, died from a gunshot inside Stoke Newington police station in 1983. This proved to be a watershed in relations between Hackney police and Hackney's Black population. The police investigation concluded that Roach committed suicide, but evidence collected at the scene did not square with the police's verdict. An independent, non-public inquiry into Roach's death was commissioned by the Roach Family Support

Committee, which maintained that the police inquiry was insufficient and that Roach's death should be examined in the context of adverse police-Black minority interactions in Hackney (RFSC, 1989). Roach's death spurred protests and demands for an independent public inquiry and was a rallying point for the Black community to fight about police brutality, harassment and racism.

The 1993 murder of Stephen Lawrence in South London was another defining event that drew attention to the complex police-minority relationship, and the subsequent Macpherson inquiry blaming the police for 'institutional racism' forced radical changes in police policies at all levels of operation. Over the last decade, other Hackney communities have attracted police attention: the Jewish community again became a target of hate crime incidents, and the Muslim community (i.e. Turkish, Bangladeshi, some Indian and African) came under growing scrutiny in the wake of international terrorist activities and also became a target of hate crime incidents. The Hackney gay community, too, experiences a high level of hate crime.[23]

4.2.10 Responses to crime and disorder at the Borough level

Safer neighbourhood initiatives

With the re-emergence of a community policing philosophy (Fielding, 2009), numerous local and national agencies became accountable for interventions to tackle anti-social behaviour and reduce crime in specific locales, such as Hackney. These include the Safer and Cleaner Partnership in Hackney, the Borough Police, the Learning Trust, and the Fire Brigade. The interventions seemed to have a positive effect on residents' perceptions of law enforcement in the area. Dann and Hinchliff (2009) indicated that overall satisfaction with the police in Hackney increased by 55 per cent to 77 per cent over a span of three years (2006-2009); they reference the Public Attitude Survey (MPS) as a source of these figures. In response to Macpherson's recommendations, Hackney was also one of the first boroughs to establish multi-agency partnerships to tackle hate crimes. Recent numbers released by the MPS show that overall confidence in the Council and police partnership grew between 2011 and 2012. Fifty-five per cent of residents surveyed by the police agreed that the police and Council are effectively tackling the crime and anti-social behaviour issues that matter (up from 50 per cent in 2010/11).

[23] https://www.catch-hatecrime.org.uk

Stop and search

Recommendation 61 of Macpherson's report was drafted in response to the claim that disproportionate police stops target people of minorities, claiming that these stops were not the result of individual officers' malfeasance but of the entire system. This recommendation added the recording of these events to the existing practice of stop and search. Stops and searches were legitimised under Section 1 of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (PACE) and Section 60 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994:

> That the Home Secretary, in consultation with Police Services, should ensure that a record is made by police officers of all "stops" and "stops and searches" made under any legislative provision (not just the Police and Criminal Evidence Act). Non-statutory or so called "voluntary" stops must also be recorded. The record is to include the reason for the stop, the outcome, and the self-defined ethnic identity of the person stopped. A copy of the record shall be given to the person stopped. (Recommendation 61, Macpherson Report).

Hackney was the evaluation site for Recommendation 61; the implementation began in April 2003. Recording the stops and searches was thought to promote trust and confidence in the process. The 1990 Trust carried out an evaluation of Recommendation 61 based on a non-representative sample of 400 individuals stopped and searched in Hackney in 2003/4; the study was conducted in 2004, directly after the implementation of Recommendation 61. The evaluation found that the majority of respondents said they were unaware that the police now had to provide a record when stopping people, and only 16 per cent of survey respondents had had a satisfactory experience of being stopped and searched (Human Rights for Race Equality, 2004). Following Hackney Advisory Group suggestions, Borough Commander Steve Dann set up a Stop and Search Scrutiny Panel, overseen by key community leaders.

The Safer School Partnership scheme, another borough-level response, will be discussed in detail in Chapters 5 and 6. Next, I will describe the participant communities and the empirical work undertaken.

4.3 Empirical work

I explore the role of ethnic (including religious and racial) communities in Hackney in shaping and directing relationships with the police through the lens of community cohesion and informal self-regulation capacity. I review shared ideas about the police (social representations) drawing on community histories in order to respond to the key question: *Can ethnicity and ethnic identity explain relationships and attitudes toward the police?*

I interviewed one African, one Caribbean, two Kurdish-Turkish, and four Haredi community stakeholders and one police officer. Studying these communities proved to be especially important because: The Black community relationship with the police has been consistently controversial across time and place. This frequently antagonistic relationship draws attention to police practices criminalising Black people and is often studied within the context of racism. Black African and Black Caribbean are the second- and third-largest minority communities in Hackney. The police/Turkish-Kurdish community relationship is the least established, and its nature is changing. Hackney's Turkish-Kurdish community in the borough constitutes its largest minority. The police/Jewish community relationship is one of the best established in the borough. The Haredis comprise a large section of the local population, albeit inaccurately represented in formal statistics (Hackney Council, 2013). While the sample is not representative, it nevertheless illuminates processes occurring at the community level.

Hackney's Black community consists of immigrants from the West Indies and Africa; it comprised about 25 per cent of Hackney's population in 2001 and 23 per cent in 2011 (Census 2001, Census 2011). When amalgamated as one group, it is the second largest community residing in Hackney after Whites. Although other London areas (such as Notting Hill) are more closely identified with Black settlement, there remains a large concentration of people of Black descent in Hackney. According to the 2001 Census, Black communities tend to be concentrated in the Hackney wards of King's Park, Hackney Downs, Hackney Central, and Dalston. Black Africans and Black Caribbeans arrived in the UK at different times and for different reasons, and they are treated in this research as two separate communities where possible. Data provided by Hackney Council do not distinguish between African and Caribbean areas of residence but show that Black residents tend to live in these wards: King's Park, Hackney Central, Hackney Downs and Chatham.

Black Caribbean immigrants came to Hackney chiefly in the 1960s, mainly as economic migrants (Peach, 1991). Between the Census of 2001 and the Census of 2011 there was a substantial reduction in both absolute and proportionate numbers, resulting in a shrinkage of the Black Caribbean community in Hackney (from 10.3 per cent in 2001 to 7.8 per cent in 2011).

Black African immigrants arrived mainly in the 1990s. Some African migrants arrived as refugees from war zones, fleeing political conflicts, or as economic migrants (Black, 2004).

They constitute the third-largest ethnic group in Hackney, and within this category, the largest country-based group is Nigerian. Between 2001 and 2011, 3,418 individuals born in Africa moved into the borough.

The large Kurdish-Turkish community in Hackney consists of different groups that originated in Turkey, Cyprus, Iran and Iraq (Hackney Council web-page[24]). Turkish-Cypriots arrived in the UK in the 1930s as Commonwealth citizens and during the 1950s-1960s as a result of growing tension between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Mainland Turks migrated during the period 1970-1980 because of political instability and military coups. Kurds fled Turkey, Iraq and Iran in the 1980s and 1990s as a result of ethnic persecution and were granted new residency, mainly in Europe, through the asylum-seeking process. Most Turkish-speaking residents in London belong to the Sunni sect of Islam; most Kurds speak Kurdish as their first language and belong to the Alevi sect (GLA, 2009). This community is characterised by diverse languages and cultural practices. It is difficult to establish the actual number of community members (as they fall within the "other white" ethnic category), but it is estimated that over 20,000 members of the community live in Hackney. Census 2011 data reported that in Hackney, 10,606 residents identified as Turkish, 2,083 identified as Kurdish and a further 1,104 identified as Turkish-Cypriot in the 'write in' section of the Census form, totalling 13,793 or 5.6% of the total population. Furthermore, 8,982 residents listed their country of birth as Turkey (Hackney Council, 2013). Hackney Council suggests that this community is spread fairly evenly across the borough, but it is important to remember that true numbers and localities are not available.

Macro-level changes (such as in the economy, as described below) have contributed to joblessness in the Turkish-Kurdish sector. During the 1970s and 1980s, many people in this community were employed by local textile industries. A shift from manufacturing to service industries and the re-location of manufacturing out of the inner city resulted in the collapse of the textile industry during the 1990s. This had a devastating economic and social impact on the community, and male unemployment rose to 30-40 per cent (Cook *et al.*, 2001). As a result, many Turkish and Kurdish residents pursued self-employment, such as owning local restaurants and shops (Hackney Council website, access date: September 2012). Some members of this community experience varying levels of segregation owing to poor English language skills, lacking understandings of state mechanisms, and unwillingness to participate in civil activities

[24] http://www.hackney.gov.uk/hackney-diversity#mig

or register on the citizen registry. Turkish-speaking communities are among the most deprived ethnic groups in the borough (Cook *et al.*, 2001). Hackney Council (2013) suggests that the Turkish-Kurdish community has shown modest growth since 2001.

The Haredi community—a traditional, self-contained Jewish community—is characterised by its visually distinctive appearance and reclusive nature. The community is based in the Stamford Hill neighbourhood in the north of Hackney (New River, Springfield, Cazenove and Lordship wards). This is one of the largest Haredi communities in Europe, and the third largest in the UK (Hackney Council, 2013). There are no consistent demographics available because of community's refusal to be enumerated or to answer the census question about religion. The Haredi community was estimated to exceed 10,000 according to the 2001 Census, and was thought to be 6.3 per cent of Hackney's population by the Census of 2011, while Mayhew *et al.* (2011) provide different figures that suggest this community comprises 7.4 per cent of Hackney's population. The community comprises Jews who arrived in the UK in successive waves of migration after fleeing Russian pogroms and persecution in eastern Europe (Gartner, 2001). Stamford Hill became home to Holocaust survivors and other Jews from former UK colonies. Internal migration from the historic Whitechapel Jewish quarter bombed during the Second World War brought other Jews to the neighbourhood (Laguerre, 2008:3).

The Haredis maintain a way of life based on strong religious values and yet attempt to keep current with the challenges of modern life and broader societal rights and duties (e.g. voting, education). The diverse community is comprised of Ashkenazi and Sephardic subgroups and different religious branches within Judaism. On the one hand, it experiences economic deprivation with a high level of dependency on benefits, but on the other, a rich community life with extensive internal support systems to aid those in need. Additionally, Stamford Hill is a site of formal Jewish institutions, such as the Chief Rabbinate and the Board of Deputies of British Jews (Laguerre, 2008). These and synagogues are the main domains of cultural reproduction that creates strong affiliations, bonds and identities.

Other communities referenced in the study are the White community (the reference group, in the quantitative analyses) and refugees. The *White* community in Hackney consists of White British, Other White and Irish, and Gypsy or Irish Travellers. Although it has grown in absolute numbers (owing to an increase in Other White, especially Polish migrants), this community has proportionately declined over the years between the Census of 2001 and the Census of 2011.

The White British population in Hackney declined in absolute numbers and proportionally, in line with a trend that began decades ago. This community forms the baseline category in ethnic background variables and receives less attention in this study than other Hackney communities. Hackney is also home to refugee and asylum-seeker populations that were estimated to be between 16,000 and 20,000 in 2006 (Schreiber, 2006). Although Hackney's provision for refugees is limited, many refugees are nevertheless drawn to this area to be close to their relatives, people from their communities, and other local support networks. While they constitute an interesting group to research (because of intersecting issues of race and ethnicity, poverty, vulnerability and policing), I did not focus on refugees since they come from diverse backgrounds with diverse experiences with the police and hard to access. Instead, I sought more established communities in order to study their relationships with the police. Table 4.7 introduces the interviewees.

Table 4.7 List of participants

	Interviewee Position	**Gender**	**Date**	**Location/Organisation**
1	Coordinator	M	Jul-06	Lubavitch House (Jewish)
2	Coordinator	M	Sep-06	Halkevi (Kurdish)
3	Faith and Community Liaison officer	M	Sep-06	Stoke-Newington police station
4	Chair	M	Oct-06	The Hackney Race equality Partnership (Black)
5	Chair	F	Oct-06	Talking Matters (Jewish)
6	Policy and Regeneration Officer	F	Oct-06	Interlink (Jewish)
7	Chair Hackney Refugee Forum	M	Oct-06	HCVS (Kurdish)
8	Director	F	Nov-06	Black and Ethnic Minority Working Group (Black)

A thematic analysis of interview transcripts yielded three global themes, twenty-one related basic themes, and ten related organising themes (see Table 4.8); each global theme is discussed individually in the remainder of this chapter. While the primary mode of investigation was thematic analysis of interview transcripts, I also consulted empirical materials such as local and national government reports, legislation and demographic data (Census, 2011) in an attempt to validate and contextualise the findings. Information about global, organising and basic themes can be found in Chapter 3.

Table 4.8 Key themes from community stakeholder interviews

Global themes	Organising themes	Basic themes
1. Perceptions of crime and safety in the neighbourhood	Social cognition	• Social construction of crime and criminality • Exaggerated crime problem
	Inequality	• Visible inequality/concentrated extremes
	Structure	• Parental control • Free time activities
2. Police contact	Past experience	• Traumatic past relationship with authorities • Collective memory
	Common encounters	• Racial discrimination • Punitiveness • Second-hand contact
3. Community life	Social control	• Collective efficacy • Respect for authorities
	Social support	• Organisational capacity • Bridges across communities
	Ethnic identity	• Essentialist identity (essentialism) • Challenges to identity • Search for identity
	National identity	• Relationship with the state • Civic participation
	Relationship with police: organisational level	• Improved relationship • Empowering communities

4.3.1 Perceptions of safety, crime and criminality in the neighbourhood

Research question: What are common views of safety and crime in the neighbourhood?

Variation in crime seemed to follow smaller geographical-unit variations and is consistent with issues discussed above. This implies that some people are more fearful of crime as they live closer to crime hotspots. Judgements about possible crime risks and fear of crime may be interrelated, but one does not necessarily predict the other. Although evidence shows that fear of crime relates to socio-economic characteristics and specifically to the neighbourhood condition, not everyone who lives in a deprived area experiences a high level of fear and perceived risk or disorder (Brunton-Smith and Sturgis, 2011), as the accounts show.

Interviewees talked about how Hackney compares with nearby boroughs. It is a central borough, adjacent to the City of London, where wealth is concentrated. Bauman claims that social success nowadays is located in the material: "For defective consumers, those contemporary have-nots, non-shopping is the jarring and festering stigma of a life un-fulfilled—and of own nonentity and good-for-nothingness." (2012:34). The interviewees maintain that the deprivation experienced by young people, combined with the belief that legitimate avenues to achieve successful lives are inaccessible (affecting their life aspirations), divert them to wrongdoing, reflecting Agnew's (1992) General Strain Theory that focuses on the relationship between strain and crime:

> ... they want... whatever they see on the others (in the streets) or in the television. If you cannot buy, then (you) start stealing. (Interviewee 7)

The contemporary reality of localities polarised between prosperity and poverty often follows racial lines. Spatial inequality, which occurs when and where poverty and ethnicity overlap, underlies many of Hackney's problems:

> And as I said, in all these cases, they're usually issues of poverty, and it's the same group of people there at the bottom. So while it may seem like you're working with race, in my opinion, you're dealing with poor people who happen to be of a particular racial background... (Interviewee 4)

The media interviewed a community leader (interviewee 1), after a shooting he witnessed. He admitted that there was delinquency in the neighbourhood, but suggested that the media were motivated to blow such issues out of proportion and portray Hackney as dangerous:

> I was interviewed by one of the good newspapers, it might have been *The Times*, but it never got in the paper in the end… They were talking about the danger in this area, and they had a photographer, and they talked to me over there, and I said, You're exaggerating. They didn't want me to say that. They wanted me to say that it was dangerous. (Interviewee 1)

The respondents' perceptions of the intersections between crime, criminality, risk and place do not necessarily reflect facts. Home Office (2010) figures show that the crime rate in Hackney steadily declined since 2004/5. Social construction in this context refers to how society chooses what to consider harmful and what to ignore, as well as how society prioritises its risks and dangers. Cohen (1972) uses the concept 'folk devils' to refer to persons or groups portrayed as outsiders and deviants, who are blamed for crimes and other social ills. Throughout the interviews, Black youth were often referred to as society's scapegoats:

> I went to meet some lady who is living here in Hackney, and she gave me the address via phone.... I didn't find my way so I came to ask somebody, and while he was talking to me he said, Be careful, that person, look at that person. The person is far behind me, but he said he's a hoodie. So he assumed, because he's a young black male. He then said it is dangerous here. (Interviewee 8)

Participants 'resist' or try to 'mute' the social representation of Hackney as a dangerous place. Some found it difficult to admit safety issues, others rationalised media motives, and talked about stigmatisation of the area by lay people. In answering the research question, interviewees acknowledged the socio-demographic condition of the area. They acknowledged the outsiders' view of the area as unsafe, but generally agreed that they experienced the area as safe. They resisted the continual stigmatisation of the place and its residents. The common knowledge that this area was affected by disorder and crime was thus thought to generate false expectations, distorting evaluations of the neighbourhood and individuals' subjective feelings of safety despite objective cues of regeneration and improvement.

4.3.2 Social mechanisms and identities

Research question: How does identity relate to views of the police?

This section starts with an exploration of ethnic (racial/religious) identity and moves on to mechanisms of social control at the community level. Social control within a community includes the following: level of organisation, established rules of conduct, support for individuals, a system of monitoring and sanctioning, and collaborative ties to other communities and partners.

Ethnic identity

Participants were part of diaspora communities, some of whom experienced displacement whereas others reached the UK as economic migrants. The local Jewish community experienced displacement centuries ago, the Caribbean community decades ago, and the African and Turkish-Kurdish communities experienced displacement more recently. The 'loss of place', regardless whether it was a chosen migration or not, has long-lasting implications for individual and community wellbeing, as it affects attachment, place familiarity, and social identity (Fullilove, 1996).

Interviewees from both Black African and Black Caribbean communities played down their racial affiliation and Black identity. They claimed that it was one of several identities they hold but not necessarily the most important.

> My identity, generally speaking, is built up of different elements because definitely I'm coming from a different background. I have a different colour from you; I have different features. But the most important thing is what I believe I can do, and this is my identity... (Interviewee 8)

> There are lots of communities. Race is just one. And most of us fit into several of these communities, as well. None of us are in just one community. (Interviewee 4)

> Who is in my community? How do I perceive myself? I'll put it this way: I like to think of myself like a Black... rock, that I've got Hackney imprinted right through me. So that's in my community... Hackney. (Interviewee 4)

By playing down his racial identity and emphasising the 'place' identity Interviewee 4 provides himself with an alternative. One possible explanation would be that this is an ego-defense-mechanism reaction to a threat to identity. Localities and residential communities can adopt a distinct sense of place that expresses a set of meanings external to their actual location (such as Scousers in Liverpool or Mancunians in Manchester): "Place attachment facilitates a sense of security and well-being, defines group boundaries and stabilizes memories" (Gieryn, 2000:481).

Newer communities' sense of place and identity appear to be less secure. The Kurdish-Turkish community**,** a younger community in Hackney, is placed between cultures and searching for a more secure ethnic identity. The GLA (2009) report on the Turkish, Kurdish and Cypriot communities suggest that the Turkish- and Kurdish-speaking communities have a strong ethnic identity, enhanced by shared language, culture and minority status, which has given them a strong resilience, accompanied by some segregation in their social circles (i.e. community centres, and Turkish shops, restaurants, cafés and bars catering for Turkish or Kurdish people).

The changing identity of young Turkish/Kurdish people is also important. Some young people in the community choose to downplay their ethnic group and join other groups in a search for new belonging. Interviewees also mentioned a notable generational gap as a cause (endorsed by the GLA [2009] report). Interviewee 2, a Turkish male, talked about his son's alternative identity:

> My son is not religious. He hates ultra-Muslim things. He said, they're crazy. He's a man of power and girls... (Interviewee 2)

Interviewee 2's son deserted a traditional identity and took on a modern and secular one that fits in with his peers; this is termed 'social mobility' (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and within the socio-psychological terminology refers to a strategy adopted by the individual to achieve a positive social identity. The JRF report (Enneli et al., 2005) on young Turks and Kurds in Britain suggests that some do not consider themselves part of the Muslim community; however, for some, religious identity is seen as a feature or extension of their ethnic identity. The other process occurring in the community is a shift toward religion, which was perceived as more legitimate in the UK than in Turkey at the time when the study took place. In explaining the British Turks' turn to religion, Cook *et al.* (2001:18) observed that "ironically, one effect of this fractured family life and dislocation is the tendency to cling to the old ways in an attempt to keep the threats posed by the new culture at bay."

At the other end of the spectrum, the Haredi community displays a strong and apparently non-conflicted Jewish identity. Interviewees intimated that the differences between people are not socially constructed but rather fixed, i.e. the belief that religious ethnic categories have essence, and the acknowledgment of inherent differences between people (Medin & Ortony, 1989). The following excerpt exemplifies such an idea:

> If, chas v'Shalom, you eat pork on Yom Kippur [Day of Atonement], you're still Jewish. And if you fasted on Yom Kippur and you're not Jewish, you're still not Jewish. So the essence of your being, you either are or you aren't. (Interviewee 1).

Religious identity, as seen in the case of the Haredi community, is accompanied by social representations in the form of stories, ideas, and cultural memory unique to the group. In an attempt to maintain the Jewish culture that has been under attack for centuries, passing oral and written repertoires from one generation to another helps to preserve and fix the group identity (Young, 2006:240). Group and cultural memory characteristics are used to objectify Jewish culture and consequently create a contrast between the in-group and out-group. The 'objective' manifestations of cultural memory are defined through a kind of identificatory determination in a positive ('we are this') or negative ('that is our opposite') sense.

National identity: Relationship with the state

While there is a general call for reinstating British identity, alongside the declaration that 'multi-culturalism has failed' (Cameron, 2011), participants suggest that it is unclear what this identity would entail and whether it can be achieved. Andreouli and Chryssochoou (2015) claim that

"nations were and still are, powerful identity-providers for their members" (2015:314). However, what does it mean to be English or British to a person in an ethnic minority in England? The following account by Interviewee 4 demonstrates such a dilemma.

> The Scottish don't call themselves British. They're not interested in it. The Welsh are not interested in it. The English are not interested in it. The English will tell you, "We're English, mate". The Welsh will tell you, "We're Welsh". They're not interested. Nobody is. But what Britain does is that it's a flag that they normally use when they go to war, you know, it binds everybody together. So that way whether you're from Wales or Scotland, we can all fight for the Crown, whatever it is. But apart from that, nobody's interested in the British flag. But at the same time, we're more likely to be British in that sense, and that encompasses all of these countries, even countries abroad you know, like the Falkland Islands, and I mean even the Caribbean or part of the territory from before, the Colonies.... (Interviewee 4)

Although Interviewee 4 has lived his entire life in the UK, his national identity is not an alternative to his ethnic identity. While he votes in elections and fulfils his civic duties, Interviewee 4 does not feel allegiance to his home county in the Caribbean or to his host country, the UK, and there is no viable alternative national identity for him:

> ... we're born in England, but will the English accept us as English? I was born here. What else do I have to do to be English? ... the English, they won't accept it, so if they won't accept me as English, should I really call myself English? Should I call myself British? You know, I can call myself Caribbean, but I've never been there. I don't even like their food... This is what I know; this is where I grew up. All my mates are here. I don't know anything else. But the English won't accept me, so how do I see myself? And personally, I can tell you: I can go back to my own country and they [would] call me foreigner… The English don't call themselves British. They don't. I often go to their pubs, you'll see the red, the George Cross more than the Union Jack. The Irish, you'll see the Irish tricolour, not the Union Jack. No matter where you go, you'll see on some official buildings, yeah. So for us to call ourselves British, what's that make you? A mongrel of some sort. (Interviewee 4)

One aspect of belonging is to exercise your civic rights and responsibilities. Adopting a British national identity through civic participation, however, is hindered in the Kurdish-Turkish community by past experiences, language barriers and, for some, unsettled immigration status; this community is the youngest and least established of the four addressed in this study. *Halkevi* is a group that encourages people of the community to join the voter registry so they can take part in their host society's elections:

> One of the great problems that we're facing, one, they don't have that culture to go and vote because they've been forced not to vote in Turkey. Second, they're [some are] not entitled because their immigration status is not regularised. And some of them are illegal immigrants. (Interviewee 2)

The Haredi community's level of civic engagement, as assessed by voting turnout, is claimed to be at the British average, but actual numbers are not available. This is difficult to confirm, however, as the question about religion in the Census is voluntary.

> I think, the paradox is that… the community has been here a lot longer than most immigrants, but it chooses to live its own way. But in a way, it is integrated. We've elected to be outside the system if you like. They (i.e. the Kurdish-Turkish community) haven't elected; they just are outside the system—because the parents don't know, for instance, the education system; they don't understand it. They lack the language, that kind of thing. We are outside the system because our children go to community (i.e. faith) schools, not to mainstream, not to State-aided schools. (Interviewee 5)

This discussion about 'national identity' shows that representations of 'Britishness' are based on ideas of ethno-cultural difference between ethnic minorities and the dominant group and have a value attached of societal power differences (a valorised 'other' injects meanings of dominance and power to dominate the group). Additionally, some expressed emotions of inadequacy caused by not fitting the 'British' stereotype ("... we're born in England, but will the English accept us as English?" [Interviewee 4]). Others are dealing with fulfilling the basic requirements of citizenship, such as language proficiency and civic participation. This has implications for levels of belonging, attachment, and solidarity.

4.3.3 Informal Social Control and Support

Research question: How does the community's informal social control and support relate to crime control and relationship with the police?

Informal social control and self-support are the building blocks of a community's collective efficacy. Community efficacy keeps crime at bay by monitoring its members and by encouraging co-operative relationships with the police.

African and Caribbean communities: Informal social control and support

Community organisations are relatively limited. Hackney's Council for Voluntary Service (CVS) does not have an accurate figure for Black Caribbean or Black African groups. According to CVS, many groups serving the Black communities work with both

African/Caribbean communities. Interviewee 4's organization, among other services, provides advocacy for people in cases of racial discrimination. He claims that alternative avenues of support for people dealing with similar issues are limited:

> ... most of the people that come to us, they don't have nowhere else. For example, they may go to the Citizens' Advice Bureau, and what they'll quite often find there is that they may take a month to get an appointment. And then when they do get an appointment, there's no specialist who can deal with their area of [law], like to do with an allegation of racial discrimination, and with the solicitors, they've got to have money. (Interviewee 4)

People in these communities, explained the participants, are characterised by unstable family structures. The lack of authority figures and or loose supervision by parental figures results in multiple problems. According to interviewee 4, the lack of help from the community or family places young people on the wrong path:

> ... in the Black, especially Caribbean**,** communities, the men have been taken away from the families (i.e. in prison). Most of these boys, they grow up by single parents, single mothers. The mothers can help them to a certain point, but there comes a point where, I don't know, maybe you're 12 years old, and you're bigger than your mum. So if the boys, now you [you say to your mum] Fuck off, you know, you can't tell me to do da-da-da-da. So if you don't feel that she can control you or help you in the same way, and there's boys bullying you at school, who can you bring to defend you? You know, that's why you got to pick up a knife or a gun or join a gang. How else are you protected? (Interviewee 4)

This account is supported theoretically and empirically. Historically disadvantaged minority youth are more likely to live in single-parent households (House of Commons Home Affairs Committee, 2007). Limited intergenerational closure and lack of adult supervision is linked to lower levels of social capital, since the presence of adults in the household is a critical form of social capital (Coleman, 1988). The young Black boys to whom Interviewee 4 refers cannot get help from the police, either, thus intensifying the problem of lack of support:

> … part of the problem is that in other communities, they have more men playing more roles within the family structures and their societies. That's why you have less of these problems. Whereas if you're a young man and you're growing up without what you might call role models, and you got some problems, how do you deal with it? You can't go to the police: you'll either be called a grass or they'll nick you, so how do you deal with it? You join the local gang, and what's the price of joining the local gang? You got to walk with your knife or your gun or something. (Interviewee 4)

That account highlights the implications of such realities for offending and police contact. Another structural predicament is that young Black people (Black British and mixed race) experience greater unemployment than their counterparts (IPPR, 2010). When a community is deprived and in a dire state there is no time is left to cultivate community social assets and to better members' lives. While the Black community's history in the US is fundamentally different from that in the UK, there are commonalities to draw on in terms of underlying practices of institutional racism and their individual- and meso-level consequences (q.v. Goffman, 2014).

Kurdish-Turkish community: Informal social control and support

This community has its own institutions and organisations to provide support. Hackney Refugee Forum estimated that, at the time the study took place, there were 12 Turkish-Kurdish groups active in Hackney. *Halkevi,* one of several local organisations, provides opportunities for general education, a language school, after-school activities, culture and folklore, and social and legal advice. This organisation works closely with the police who provide training in certain areas, and *Halkevi* acts as a broker between the police and community members when needed.

Halkevi's 'Peace and Justice Committee' (an informal committee within the local community organisation) acts as a mediator over instances of petty crime and disputes occurring between community members. This committee was established in response to a growing number of unreported crimes in the community that needed to be addressed. The Peace and Justice Committee holds informal enforcement powers. However, these regulatory powers can work only when cohesiveness exists within a community and consequences for wrongdoing are in place. Otherwise, decisions and rules have no real implication for the people involved:

> ... some incidents we could stop ourselves. We have our own enforcement, but when I say enforcement, enforcement is not… like punishing people. But you could say, for example, if you prove to be a crook (and this community works [with] each other, very closely) ... and you say [name] is a crook, nobody wants to be with you. So you are ostracised… (Interviewee 2)

Although acknowledged by the police, the legitimacy and enforcement powers of this committee are limited. The relationship between social control and compliance ties in with the group's ability to punish or reward its members contingent on their behaviour (Hechter, 1987). Liberal sects of the community (such as the Turkish-Cypriots, whose ethnic affiliation is not so

salient to their social identity as more traditional sects within the community) tend to disregard the Peace and Justice Committee's decisions, according to interviewee 2. In such cases:

> …when we see the one side is not going to listen, and we feel that it's going to end up with violence, or not accepting the decision that our court will give, then we advise the other person that this is how much we could do [and suggest they go to the police]. (Interviewee 2)

Despite some provision at the meso-level in the form of organisations and charities for community members, generational and cultural gaps compounded by language barriers remain the main obstacles in parent/child communication, supervision and support:

> ... [this boy who came to me] I'm going to ask him, Haven't you got any support from your school and teachers? He said, No, not one. Family, because of the language issues, there is a big difference, even conflict, between parents and the children because when they become a certain age, they have to choose one of the cultures. Of course, they choose the host community's culture because they are going to school every day and [have] friends over there; they have to speak English outside. When they come home because of the tradition of things, father doesn't want to [be] involved [in the] education of the children, especially the Turkish and Kurdish. Mothers have so limited, so limited education. (Interviewee 7)

Haredi community: Informal social control and support

The Haredi community has dense social and organisational networks. They comprise social care institutions, security organisations, independent education systems, and rabbinical authorities (e,g. 'Beth Din', which is a rabbinical court), and in many cases organisations are embedded with overlapping ties. In the Haredi community, social order and support go hand in hand with cultural consciousness, ingrained in the community character of resourcefulness and agency: "As a structural feature of communities, social capital is fundamentally rooted in the cultural traditions and institutional forms of those communities, as well as in the physical spaces that they occupy" (Warren *et al.*, 2002:8). These organisations supply all their members' needs except for health and housing, though recently there has been a growing reliance on government funds for educational purposes. Internlink estimates that there are between 100 and 150 Haredi groups in the area. One area of high organisation is crime control. Like the Kurdish-Turkish community, community conflicts, petty crime within the community, and problems in the family are mostly handled behind closed doors, with the rabbi as an authority. The police recognise the Haredi community's capacity for social control, and 'allow' leaders to deal with non-serious issues in the community by themselves:

> I got a phone call from the police. "Do you want to deal with [a kid from the community who was caught stealing] or do you want us to deal with it? You know what [kind of] a relationship you have to have." (Interviewee 1)

Security for community members, synagogues or schools, and community centres is provided by the Community Safety Trust (CST), a voluntary organisation that works in partnership with the police to provide year-round safety and security for its members, and especially during the High Holidays (i.e. the Jewish New Year and Day of Atonement). People of the Haredi community, as explained by the interviewees, are reluctant to report crime to the police for three reasons: their doubt that the police will pursue issues further, their obligation to behave morally to avoid desecration of the name of God, and because they already use a reliable system which provides them with policing, security, conflict resolution resources and other services they need.

The density of local organisations and voluntary associations seems to be associated with levels of collective efficacy. On the other side of the equation is the level of need, and whether it is addressed in the community or in the greater population. In answering the research questions, the accounts above demonstrate how the presence of a system of social regulation is related to crime control within each community and how networks of support can enable or disable attachment and feelings of security. Next, I examine communities' capacities for informal social control to see whether that is related to working relations with the local police.

4.3.4 Communities' working relationships with the police

With the move to delegating responsibilities to other external partners, role-holders' responsibilities were altered in light of a push for 'community policing'. Indeed, the role of community representatives as 'policing champions' and police liaison officers became more prominent in promoting informal social control and cooperative work with the police. The police's unofficial role is to awaken a sense of community ownership over public space and localised problems and to provide help when needed by promoting community policing[25] values and practices.

Concurrently, other changes such as the introduction of the Policing Diversity Strategy and the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 occurred and, arguably, affected police work with

[25] Community policing is a philosophy and organisational strategy (Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1990) that calls for closer relationships with communities. This model presents itself in a variety of forms and practices following the dominant political and ideological discourse. In the UK a leading advocate of this model was Alderson (1977, 1979); in the US, Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1990) were the leading advocates.

communities. The need to develop community cohesion encouraged the introduction of several initiatives based on partnerships between state and non-state agents (e.g. neighbourhood policing teams, community safety partnerships, and faith liaison officers). These multi-agency partnerships are aimed at empowering communities and intended to create a bridge between the police and local communities.

Organisational level

The emerging theme across the accounts was that of the police undergoing a cultural change. Interviewees reported increased contact initiated by the police. They indicated that they were invited to be involved in police cultural training or discuss issues relating to their communities with the police. The police both assist and empower organisations (such as the Community Security Trust) to deal with issues in the community:

> This is now accepted by the police, and they say, in the beginning, the police didn't like it because we don't want vigilantes, and we don't want busybodies; but now for quite a while, there is a good interaction. And it has another advantage: that sometimes when the police are too lazy or too stretched, they [community local organisations] are doing things. (Interviewee 1)

Before and after the US September 2001 terror attacks, and more intensely after the London bombing of July 2005, the Kurdish/Turkish community and its organisations suffered greater suspicion and mistrust from the police and other intelligence agencies and were subject to increased surveillance. The police and other public institutions at times were perceived to crush the autonomy and collective action of organisations when they perceived them as a threat to public well-being.

> … (Halkevi) is a Kurdish organisation, so therefore (Halkevi) is run by PKK... this centre was raided in '97 by the police; they took all the files, everything, in the hope that they would find terrorists' guns and documents here. (Interviewee 2)

The Turkish/Kurdish organisational capacity (distinguished from the community's leadership capacity, its representativeness and ability to mobilise resources) seemed to be curtailed owing to current affairs linking local organisations with terror threats.

Ties across partners and communities

Cross-community relationships, according to Interviewee 5, are also taking place when people from the Haredi community come together with a representative from the Kurdish/Turkish community to share information about how to make communities safer and healthier and how

to make use of local and extra-local resources (e.g. police protection, health and welfare services, education resources). The level of connectivity between leaders across communities is a powerful mechanism, Sampson (2012) claims, in achieving mutual goals and healthier communities. Warren *et al.* (2002: 11) suggest that, in relation to a specific task (e.g. combating poverty in poor US communities), the benefit of collaboration in bridging communities can leverage the outcome: "'Bridging' ties can help bring greater resources and opportunities into poor communities. And in the long run, building trust and cooperation across communities can help provide the basis for strengthening the social fabric of the whole society and creating a national consensus for combating poverty".

4.3.5 Police view

Police representatives were present in all forums and consultations that took place in the community, demonstrating a willingness to understand and a commitment to improve their relationships with local communities. At the time of the interviews, police/faith community liaisons were not prevalent. Interviewee 3 was a police/faith liaison person and also the deputy chair of a steering group looking internally at how 'managing diversity' could be improved. His role was to build bridges between the police and faith-based and hard-to-reach communities, to make the police more accessible to these communities, and to improve police force understanding of local communities. His account demonstrates how operational directives are translated into practice, i.e. his work with community leaders, in anticipation that it would lead to community cooperation and improve attitudes toward the police.

Interviewee 3 met often with his 'critical friends', as he called the representatives of the different communities in the independent advisory group and other committees and forums. He provides an example: when a shooting occurs in the Black community, he would go with community representatives to the affected place to restore calm and provide reassurance. Accommodating different communities' values is necessary, he adds, to build a productive and reciprocal relationship:

> There is no single community that does not comply with the police. Just need to be sensitive to community needs. For instance, during the Shabbat there is a police van parked out in Stamford Hill. Knowing the religious restrictions of the Jewish residents will not allow them to use the phone on Shabbat (therefore the police are physically present in case the residents need them).

Interviewee 3 commented on the organisational differences among ethnic communities he works with, and how these are or are not translated to desired outcomes:

> The Jewish community are very organised. The CST [Community Security Trust] is very active during the High Holidays, to the point that they blow things out of proportion. The Muslim community—we try to encourage the community to be more organised and cohesive, but they do not admit the problems they have; they don't take responsibility for illnesses in their community. If they know of someone from their community involved in terrorism, they wouldn't inform the police on that. It's wrong.

Interviewee 3 referred to Street Pastors, a Christian organisation operating in Hackney and elsewhere, as another source of support to the community, though not necessarily partnering with the police. Street Pastors serve as an inter-denominational church response to urban problems.

4.3.6 Perceptions of the police: Past and current

Research questions: How do communities' past and current experiences with the police relate to current perceptions of the police in Hackney?

Past experience

Beliefs or pre-dispositions can have a great influence on the interpretation of their contact with the police. This is a particularly interesting and powerful explanation that lends weight to the cumulative experience of discrimination by some ethnic groups. Images, ideas and beliefs can pass from one generation to another and are resistant to change, since they exist in a community's collective memory and contribute to the group identity. Some communities are more receptive to utilising symbolic repertoires than others, depending on the group character, the knowledge on which it bases its identity (e.g. belief) and how it is communicated. Some draw on negative experiences with legal authorities in countries of origin (stored in collective knowledge) when contemplating current relationships with the local police, whereas others apply different reasoning to occurrences with the police.

Interviewee 4 referred to the past in explaining relationship with the law and disentangling it from relationships with the police (the two building blocks of legal socialisation). He referred to a history of colonialism, but also to his religious upbringing as reinforcing respect for authorities.

> We come from a different background where we were colonised by the Europeans, primarily from Britain. So we come in with a respect for the law because that's all been instilled in us from our religious point of view and our parents. So if we fear them (i.e. the police), it's for a different reason. If we keep away from them, it's for a different reason. Our background is different [from other communities]. (Interviewee 4)

The UK's history of turbulent riots (e.g. St. Paul's, Brixton, and the 2011 riots), publicised police misconduct, and allegations of discrimination toward people in the Black community negatively affected community-police relations. The Scarman report following the 1981 Brixton events emphasised the reality of challenging community-police relations. While trying to contextualise the tensions, it did not cast blame on to the police. The Macpherson Report following the murder of Stephen Lawrence, on the other hand, used a new terminology of 'institutional racism', pointing to police's discriminatory culture and practices in relation to the Black communities. Participants' accounts were tainted by perceptions of police racism and discrimination in the treatment of BME people.

Most of those who fled Turkey in the 1970s and 1980s escaped political unrest and military coups. In the years leading up to the coups, Turkey was in a state of anarchy and economic and social upheaval (Robins, 2005). The Turkish government tried to suppress the rise of social movements by using the army and police. For these newcomers to Hackney, who experienced police brutality in their homelands, the police are the 'enemy' and this view is fixed in their minds:

> Police is the protectors of the Establishment. And the Establishment is capitalist and an exploiter, imperialist power. So this is how originally people were seeing the police. So psychologically, police is the police, and then [if] I had a bad experience back in Turkey, so the police here (i.e. England) would be the same ...
>
> It took them [Turkish-Kurdish immigrants to the UK] some time [to approach the police] because their initial—when they came here, we had to meet their initial needs, housing, schooling of their children, therefore, rights. So police was not on their minds at that time [also] because police was an enemy. There was a [mental] block, don't want to relate with the police. Then we (i.e., our organisation) started getting a lot of unreported incidents, hundreds of incidents, not reported to the police ... (Interviewee 2)

Haredi people's perceptions of police are largely based on the past experiences of previous generations that have become imprinted on their own belief systems, unconsciousness and emotions.

> ... the majority of the community here, they, their parents or the grandparents were Holocaust survivors or the family survivors. And I've told the police straight, to many Jews, it's beginning to get less now but it still exists, to many Jews, authority, police meant danger, meant hatred. (Interviewee 1)

Multiple different interviewees referred to a fear of dogs as an example of the influence of past experiences, the fear originated at a time of persecutions when dogs were set on Jews. This demonstrates the strength of beliefs based on cultural memory, which is a strong characteristic of the orthodox close-knit community.

> You know, it's something very deep within the psyche, I think. I don't think it's [this fear of dogs that's] unique to the Haredi community but, um, I'm sure you'll find other survivors, but maybe it's more so because it's such a close-knit society. (Interviewee 5)

Being in a close-knit community shapes modes of communication, restricting the availability of pluralistic dialogue and hindering the exchange of ideas. Relatedly, thoughts about racially motivated police are embedded in a shared knowledge, which is 'automatically' activated:

> There is still, for many Jews, you park on a double yellow line, you get a ticket, and you talk about the anti-Semitic police. (Interviewee 1)

Young (1993:209-210) claims, "Memories of historical events and narratives delivering this memory have always been central to the Jewish faith tradition and identity". The effect of cultural memory depends on how close-knit a community is, on intergenerational closure, and modes of communication. It is therefore sensible to expect that the farther away a person is in time from past events that left such impressions. The more one's open network is, the less the influence this may have on their belief and attitude system.

In summary, repeated negative experiences with the police or authorities by some communities can become entrenched within the individual's pre-existing feelings of alienation from wider society. The police classify that individual's group as deviant and this has impact on their identity since it moves beyond the interaction order into the institutional order (Jenkins, 2000; Jenkins, 2014). It can lead either to a greater salience of the (perceived/under attack) identity

or when possible to the rejection of it. The socio-psychological literature refers to 'threatened identity' in explaining the derogation of one's self-evaluation based on ethnic or racial membership (Berkwell, 1986). Anchoring current occurrences in existing representations of the police connects the past with the present and serves a purpose: the reiteration of group identity.

Current experiences: Encounters and interpretations

Police-Initiated Contact. Interviewees usually claimed that encounters with the police were negative in tone, as the police felt much more challenged at the level of personal interaction. The use of 'stop and search' powers contributed to the belief amongst community members that they were being approached primarily as perpetrators (rather than suspects). Broader discretion allows the police to use their powers less restrictively, leading to the belief that the police are often impartial in their treatment and contact with some people, reasserting the shared narrative:

> Nobody's interested in weed, but you're targeting certain people (i.e. Black Caribbean) looking for certain things. And that brings a whole police and criminal justice system into disrepute. You don't feel you can approach them (i.e. the police). They only want to nick you, not help you. (Interviewee 4)

> The police officer can see somebody killing you and they could just stand and watch if they wanted to. They don't have no duty to stop them or shout anything. They don't have to. At the same time you could spit on the ground and the police will come and nick you. That's the width of the discretion that they have. So when they see a crime being committed or something wrong, they can act if they want to or don't act if they want to and they could jump on the most menial of things with somebody else if they wanted to. They have this wide discretion, it's how they use it. Yes, we're all subject to the same laws but how come you keep enforcing the same laws against the same people all the time? What about these other laws that apply to that lot? They need enforcing. (Interviewee 4)

> .. my son is Turkish Cypriot... every time he's out in the car, he's stopped, every time, for the last three months, he's stopped twelve times by the police. Because his appearance is Middle Eastern, and he looks like a terrorist because his face is dark and the way he cuts his hair. (Interviewee 2)

Listening to second-hand accounts were the main modes of information. Impressions supporting the idea that the police are biased against Black people drew on various sources, such as the media or friends' accounts (*cf.* the literature on vicarious contact). Themes of the community being over-policed and under-protected dominated these accounts. The account below refers to the Stephen Lawrence case.

> Similar to mine, and my people don't have confidence in the police because there have been people who go and report things to the police and end up getting arrested themselves... oh yeah. Like I said, they don't see you as a victim. You know, the Stephen Lawrence case for example? Right. In that particular case, police officers went to his parents' house and treated them as though it was them that killed him. And this is something you hear all the time. (Interviewee 4)

Witnessing is another vicarious experience: it has a greater likelihood of happening in areas affected by crime where the police are more engaged and therefore more visible. Witnessing recurrent encounters with the police has a cumulative effect and may result in more negative attitudes toward them (Brunson, 2007). Thus, considering the area in which participants live, repeated witnessing is essential to the understanding of these attitudes. In answering a question about a typical encounter with the police, Interviewee 8 recounted what he read in the local newspaper about the neighbourhood police threatening to arrest a passer-by (who happened to be a reporter) who wanted to help:

> ... she (i.e. the reporter) is writing because she had seen a Turkish neighbour without English stopped, and she cannot understand what police are saying. And she [the reporter] stopped to help them, and said, "I'm an [interpreter], I can help you." And police says, "If you continue [to be involved] in this, I'm going to nick you." (Interviewee 8)

Citizen-Initiated Contact. If members of the Haredi community come into contact with the local police, it is mainly because they come forward as victims to report a crime. Their experiences of the service seem to be coloured by disappointment and, as they have their own system in place, they resort to under-reporting, cynicism and self-reliance. This community often suffers from hate crime. Police log incidents against the Haredi as anti-Semitic crime. While these numbers are fluctuating (with political events), Islamophobic crimes in Hackney are increasing, too (ONS, 2011). When asked about experiences with the police, Interviewee 5 referred to someone else's experience:

> Oh, my colleague had an issue. Her husband… I think it was early evening but in the winter so it would have been getting dark, and a car stopped and asked him if he knew the way to somewhere. So he leaned over at the car, and the passenger got out and bashed him. And the same thing happened with another Jewish person. I can't remember if they took his money or not… and the same thing happened a few minutes later or a while later with exactly the same circumstances and probably the same people... So I think it was a hate crime, and it was reported, and they didn't take much notice so my colleague did take

> it up, and it was taken quite seriously. But often things aren't taken seriously. (Interviewee 5)

Previous accounts by stakeholders tell the story of young Black (largely West Indian) and Kurdish/Turkish people not reporting crimes to the police, as they are worried about being arrested. Other accounts supported by reports (e.g. College of Policing, 2014) highlight a different trend of under-reporting but reporting to a third party (such as CST or Tell Mama). Some communities believe the police do nothing, so under-reporting suggests that the actual crime rate is much higher;others do not report crime as they fear deportation. In answering the research question, it seems that communities' past and current experiences with the police have a direct relationship on perceptions of the police in Hackney. Current experiences are reflected in largely negative views of the police, as indicated at outset. There is a great deal of automated (unconscious) activation of police representations. But the findings also suggest that attitudes to the law and attitudes to the police should be seen as separate entities.

4.3.7 Can attitudinal change follow?

Although most of the interviewees experienced improved working relationships, they believed it would take time to see changes in how lay people perceive the police. Interviewee 5, a member of the Haredi community working for an organisation that provides Jewish cultural awareness training for non-Jewish professionals, said:

> A few years ago we tried to arrange an anonymous drop-in session [with the police]. Our organisation acted as a third party to encourage the Haredi people to report crimes. But after six months it was closed. We tried to organise a public day with CST, but only eight people turned up. (Interviewee 5)

It seems easier to bring about attitudinal change at the organisational level than at the individual level. The accounts suggest that working relationships with the police at the organisational level are improving, accomplishing the police goal of community outreach. However, a positive relationship with the police at the organisational level does not straightforwardly, if at all, extrapolate to individual attitudes toward the police. It seems as if these are somehow two separate domains, one supposedly capturing legal orientation and attitudes to the law and the other attitudes toward the police. While recognising change in police practices affecting the individual, automatic change in attitudes does not follow:

> Police today are very different than they were in the past, changed a lot, more issues of diversity to deal with. We need to be aligned with the fast-developing society. (Interviewee 2)

> [Change] takes place over time, over a period. Even if there is lot of goodwill now... it is... really built in the people conscious that the police are generally racist and target black people... (Interviewee 4)

4.4 Discussion

In the discussion, I focus on meso-level social mechanisms that explain relationships with the police and on knowledge construction, i.e. the development of attitudes toward the police. Table 4.9 provides a summary of findings across different community aspects.

Table 4.9 Summary of interview findings

	Level of organisation	Character	Ethnic identity	Density of networks	Support	Family structure	Relationship with the police (individual-level)
Caribbean	Weak Organisation	Non-traditional	Local identity	Not dense	No support	Single-parent family: common	Mostly negative
African		Some sects are traditional		Dense in some sects	Some support	Single-parent family: not uncommon	Mostly negative
Turkish-Kurdish	Some organisation but does not appeal to all sects	Generational disconnect Both traditional and modern	Combination of strong and weak ethnic identity	Dense	Support to some extent	Both parents	Recently more negative
Haredi	Highly organised. Tries to maintain solidarity of all its members	Very Traditional	Strong ethnic identity	Very dense	High level of support	Both parents: big families	Mostly indifferent: do not need them

- Subcultural tolerance and legal cynicism are other dimensions related to and vary by communities, affecting their relationships with the police.

4.4.1 Collective efficacy

Local government has increasingly relied on services and interventions supplied by civil society and religious institutions (notably the police's 'hands off' approach regarding petty crime and dispute resolution). For instance, the Crime and Disorder Act of 1998 encouraged the police to work in partnership with and across agencies. The state and its institutions work — not always intentionally — in contradictory ways. Findings show that, while the police empower some communities by the promotion of social capacity and self-help, in other communities they undermine responsibilities and agency and curtail the development of social assets (as seen in the Kurdish–Turkish community, whose members and organisations are treated with suspicion). Unsurprisingly, those who are empowered by the police and are considered 'critical partners' feel more accepted and included within the greater community, since working with the police articulates their common goals and collective identity. The communities receiving positive societal recognition are those that are provided with resources by the police; the communities that are denied resources receive negative societal recognition.

While it appears that the Hackney communities identified in this study exist at the lower end of the socio-economic continuum, some are better organised and their lived experiences are fundamentally different from others (See table 4.9). Internal organisation, cohesiveness and bridging ties set these communities apart. My research findings support Warren *et al.* (2002), suggesting that despite lack of financial capital, social capital within poor communities can still be a resource for developing leadership, group identity, shared goals and collective efficacy.

The nature of the community's collective efficacy develops in response to challenges at hand: community self-sufficiency, or high agency, may be expressed as under-reporting to the police (but reporting to a different agency). This behaviour presented, for example, in the Haredi community and some sects of the Kurdish-Turkish community. "The construct of collective efficacy is a social process that has a cultural component in shared expectations, one shaped by context, history and prior experiences," Sampson claims (2012: 369). The Haredi community, with its history of persecution, selective and elective exclusion, cultural heritage and highly active collective memory, resorts to self-sufficiency and agency through mechanisms of informal social control. This community's collective efficacy has evolved around safety concerns and uses representational tools

to convey those narratives. For the Kurdish/Turkish Hackney community, collective efficacy was a capacity that existed prior to relocation to England but evolved in an attempt to fill the void created by the lack of social provision upon migration.

My research findings show that strong ethnic identities and dense networks are associated with heightened collective efficacy. This is somehow different from Sampson and colleagues' (1997) 'collective efficacy' concept, which does not acknowledge the role of social identities and strong bonds within a community. Sampson *et al.* (1997) focus on a neighbourhood's collective efficacy in light of US contemporary urban decline but neglect ethnic communities' efficacy (with the exception of the role of the church in Black communities in Chicago). While their theory suggests that weak (i.e. bridging) ties are the key to successful collective efficacy enactment, I present a different picture.

Positive consequences of heightened collective efficacy are numerous and present in different life-domains from curbing crime and improving the education and health of community members to instilling and observing norms and providing collaborative behaviour and support — all of which are founded on reciprocity. Bridging ties across communities and/or the police help communities maximise resources and legitimise their partners. In his theoretical account, Howdon explains the value of high bridging capital to society:

> In settings high in bridging capital, individuals are likely to view the dominant institutions as being legitimate since they are connected beyond their immediate group to the larger social order. They are therefore likely to feel a part of that social order and a sense of responsibility for people beyond their bonded group (Szreter, 2002). The members of such groups will likely believe the institution of policing is legitimate. Conversely, members of a low bridging capital group are more likely to view the larger social order with suspicion and are less likely to adopt the dominant culture's perspective that the social order, and the institutions that comprise it, are legitimate. (2008: 8-9).

Informal social control enacted within a community has another function apart from directing behaviours according to expectations; it may also model general respect for other authorities, and provide an understanding of institutional codes (if based on pro-social values). The trustworthiness of social structures is a crucial aspect of social capital since "it allows for the proliferation of

obligations and expectations" (Coleman, 1988:105). Based on my research findings, when a community is more cohesive and better organised — when its needs are clear, recognised, and communicated to the police — and primarily when it sees itself as part of the civic society, individual members are less likely to experience a contested relationship with the police. Thus functional collective efficacy has the potential to model good relationships within the greater community, affect children's view of citizenship, be a source of support, and indirectly control crime and protect community members (see accounts by Interviewee 7.)

The downside of heightened collective efficacy within an ethnic minority community (in the absence of bridging ties) is that it could introduce separation from the state, for instance, by individuals subscribing to religious law (e.g. Sharia or Halacha) instead of state law (which are possibly in conflict, e.g. honour killing). Community social capital and collective efficacy can explain social exclusion since "the same ties that bind also exclude" (Narayan, 1999:5). Since the formation of bridging partnerships is crucial for social change (Wilson, 1999), the absence of bridging ties with other communities or partners undermines social and political progress.

Based on these findings, obstacles to achieving collective efficacy and regulatory effectiveness at the ethnic community level include: 1) community disorganisation, or organisational deficits (in African and Caribbean communities), despite the existence of strong bonding ties; (2) lacking effectiveness of policy implementation stemming from a disconnect between leadership, parents and the younger generation (in the Turkish-Kurdish community), despite the presence of bridging ties; and (3) sub-community isolation, wherein some communities may exhibit high organisation, cohesiveness, strong leadership and bridging ties to their partners, but limit contact between members within the community or sub-groups thereof (as with gender segregation in the Haredi and some Muslim communities).

A report for the Policing and Reducing Crime Unit has noted that despite making close links with religious partners in some south Asian communities, "these leaders themselves appeared to be increasingly isolated from younger members of their communities..." (Jones & Newburn, 2001:11). In some of these communities, women are under-represented in the public sphere, so their voices are not always heard. Other obstacles to a synergy with the police are accessibility of hard-to-reach communities and difficulty in identifying potential partners. Some communities' problems go

unidentified by the police; they are 'invisible' to the system since they do not have representation. Hackney refugees lack language, legal status and organisational capacity that could help them form working partnerships with the police.

4.4.2 Knowledge construction and identity processes

The 'social representation' perspective used in this study provides the theoretical understanding and practical tool to explain processes underlying knowledge construction and maintenance. Representational work is linked to identities since it is guided by the interests, goals and activities of the groups that produce them and shaped by communication and interaction between in-group and out-group members (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999/2008). I observed the following:

1. While Hackney's socio-economic status has generally improved and crime level declined over time (in some areas: BCS figures still ranked Hackney as the 'worst' borough in some crime in 2008/9), it is not easy to dismiss common ideas about the area as conditions change. Some participants gave examples of how stigmatising representations (by the media or politicians) can become self-fulfilling prophecies, producing the realities they symbolise. While perceived disorder forms a meaningful social property of the environment, participants did not let this image go unchallenged (i.e. not all participants 'buy into' stigmatising representations of Hackney), constituting the 'reflective users' sub-group. Place-identity ("my identity is Hackney") figures strongly in one of the accounts as an alternative to other identities. Place-identity is defined as "those dimensions of self that define the individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals, and behavioural tendencies and skills relevant to this environment" (Proshansky, 1978:155). Interviewee 4's account critically observes the common use of representational work in expressing identity (Phinney, 1992):

> "You know, I can call myself Caribbean, but I've never been there. I don't even like their food...".

Interviewee 4 was able to access an alternative representation with a direct link to his chosen identity. Interviewee 8, too, distanced herself from a Black identity by choosing alternative ones. Both emphasised how the deterministic relationship with the police affected their community. The findings suggest that Hackney Black communities have been associated with stereotypes that

pathologise them and continue to receive discriminatory treatment by the police (or treatment that is experienced as such). However, not everyone has the ability to reflect or join another group, like interviewees 4 and 8. Moreover, not all groups are permeable and not all identities can be reshaped to protect the self.

2. Communities formed social representations of the police according to their position in wider society and through earlier experiences. Based on these findings, Hackney minority ethnic residents' encounters with the police emphasise identity issues. The strength of minorities' secondary contact on attitudes toward the police followed the expected negative direction, as suggested by the literature (Hurst *et al.,* 2005; Rosenbaum *et al.,* 2005; Burnson, 2007). Furthermore, positive encounters do not easily overturn negative ideas about the police. This can be explained by the instrumental function of social representations. Interactions with police may communicate a hegemonic approach toward minority groups: that is, interactions reinforce the social order, or minorities' (lower) status in society. Activation of representation without reflection is found in belief-based social representations or in hegemonic representations (Moscovici, 1988), and when competing representations are not available. This characterizes the 'unreflective users' subgroup. These representations tend to inform identity processes and community maintenance and are difficult to change.

3. Emerging social presentations are also possible. Indeed, cognitive polyphasia has been observed in the context of cultural change (e.g. Gervais & Jovchelovitch, 1998; Wagner *et al*., 1999). Some community leaders held improved representations of the police (e.g., police as a 'partner'), which were learnt though different (professional) dynamics of self-other relations than the ones experienced by laypeople. This understanding, whereby people are able to take on different perspectives, is the cognitive polyphasia hypothesis (Moscovici 1961/1976). Howarth suggests that:

> "re-presentation, and therefore resistance, can only occur in dialogue with others, even if these are 'generalized' others, in contexts and communities where there are competing narratives and competing interests at stake" (2004:371)

Since social representations are localised and contextualised, it is not surprising that people will hold multiple representations of the same object. It is a given that ambiguity and uncertainty in the

way people view the police are expected in a diverse society, particularly where police have a variety of roles and people multiple identities. For some communities and individuals, alternative dialogues exist and can be drawn on; however, not every community is given the opportunity to create a new relationship with the police.

4. There are those who neither act through nor resist the representations, as they simply do not recognise them owing to situational or cognitive constraints and thus interpret interactions neutrally; they constitute the 'non-users' subgroup. As a person's group membership is incorporated into his or her self-concept and the 'other' becomes an integral part to the developed self, interactions with the police may trigger representational work and resonate in personal identities. This type did not feature in the present account, but it might be the case with young people and with some migrants.

4.5 Chapter summary

I have reviewed a wealth of information at the community level, represented by community stakeholders and the police. It was essential to listen to community voices, as they provided the socio-historical background to relationships with, and attitudes toward, the police. These narratives help unpack mechanisms operating within situations and contexts that can otherwise go undetected, e.g., the role of community level mechanisms of collective efficacy in facilitating working relationships with the police. They illuminate the association between social representations of the police and group identity processes.

The answer to the research question of whether ethnicity or ethnic identity explains relationships with and attitudes toward the police is complex and multi-layered. The findings show that a strong ethnic identity does not necessarily imply a weak national identity and *vice versa*. Relationships with and attitudes toward the police are explained by: salience of ethnic (religious and racial) identity; socio-psychological processes and mechanisms at the community level; and in response to simultaneously occurring macro-level processes. It is yet to be seen how predictive of the younger generation the accounts provided by the community leaders will be.

The understanding of the police as a symbolic entity is a developmental achievement, and development cannot happen without socialisation (Vygotsky, 1929/1978; Piaget, 1926; Winnicott, 1957). When an individual employs social representations of an object it means that the 'other' and associated symbolic realties are internalised. Consistency and variability in attitudes are not only due to having similar or dissimilar attributes to other group members, but are equally about communications (e.g. within the family, friendship network or school) that disseminate such representations and interaction (e.g. being stopped and searched).

The next chapter shifts the focus to the micro-level. It will examine Hackney secondary school pupils' general evaluations of the police in school and in the neighbourhood. I will explore socio-demographic background (including ethnicity and generational status), crime associations, police contact indicators and social capital indicators. Furthermore, I will explore whether school pupils carry similar ideas and expectations about the police to those held by their respective communities. In other words, are Hackney children able to use symbolic resources of the police? Can they comprehend and express cultural processes (meanings, relationships and practices constituted in everyday interactions)?

5. STUDENT VOICES: GENERAL EVALUATION OF POLICE IN SCHOOL AND NEIGHBOURHOOD

In this chapter, I move from a community to an individual level of investigation. It explores pupils' general attitudes toward: (1) neighbourhood police in Hackney, whose presence was mandated by the 2002 Police Reform Act and (2) school police, whose presence was mandated by the Safer School Partnerships (SSP) scheme. I used both focus groups and surveys for this analysis.

The key questions here are whether ethnic background and ethnic group affiliation have an impact on general attitudes to the police and whether pupils in Hackney secondary schools subscribe to common beliefs (social representations) of the police as circulated in their community context. The child's developmental stage (operationalised by age) will be conceptualised as ability in abstract thinking (and representation) indicative of cognitive development.

I begin by reviewing the Safer School Partnerships Scheme. Then I introduce the survey participants and describe their socio-demographic background (including ethnicity and generational status); crime association and police contact indicators, including views of neighbourhood and school safety; offending and victimisation patterns; frequency of seeing school police; familiarity with the police; direct and vicarious contact; reasons for contact; and social capital indicators including social networks, network attributes and support group. Finally, I present the survey's findings. They compare pupils' general views of the police, both in schools and also in neighbourhoods, and explore the correlates of those attitudes using inferential statistical methods. The analysis comprehensively explores the group that holds negative attitudes in both school and neighbourhood domains.

5.1 Safer School Partnerships (SSPs)

The rise in street crime in the UK during 2001 led the then Home Secretary, Jack Straw, to introduce the Street Crime Action Plan to tackle youth involvement in crime. The SSP concept was a related initiative to address crime and anti-social behaviour in and around school. The Youth Justice Board (YJB), the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO), and the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) all supported the scheme. It launched in 2002 as a pilot programme in a small number of schools (100 schools chosen from 34 Local Education Authorities in areas identified as having the highest levels of street crime). The involved agencies deemed the scheme a success (DfES, 2006)[26], and, after an evaluation period, the pilot programme was fully accepted as mainstream policy in 2006. Figures from ACPO (DfES, 2009) suggest that over 5000 schools had some sort of formal arrangement with the police.

With the launch of the SSP in 2002, the YJB/ACPO guidelines stressed the police's role in crime prevention and intervention. Briers (2004) described the school police officer's job as that of a law enforcer, educator, adviser, and role model. With the conclusion of the pilot period in 2005, focus shifted to SSP implementation, and the DfES mainstreamed the SSP approach in March 2006 (Burgess, 2006). Since then, partnerships between schools and police have remained an important part of government policy. In 2009, the Safer Schools Working Group (which includes representatives from the Department for Children, Schools and Families, or DCSF, YJB, ACPO and Home Office) published updated SSP guidance.

> Safer School Partnerships is a formal agreement between a school or partnerships of schools to work together in order to keep young people safe, reduce crime and the fear of crime, and improve behaviour in schools and their communities…. This involves a police officer or police community support officer regularly working at a school or across a number of schools on a full time or part time basis.
>
> **Source**: Home Office, and Children, Schools and Families Department (2009:6)

[26] http://lx.iriss.org.uk/sites/default/files/resources/safer-school-partnerships.pdf

Although each partnership caters uniquely to a specific school and community needs and depends on funding availability, there are several objectives that all SSPs are committed to ensuring:

- the safety of pupils, staff and the school site and surrounding areas;
- help for young people deal with situations that may put them at risk of becoming victims of crime, bullying or intimidation and supporting those who do;
- focused enforcement to demonstrate that those who do offend will face consequences;
- early identification, support and, where necessary, challenge of pupils involved in or at risk of offending;
- improved standards of pupil behaviour and attendance and reducing needs for exclusions;
- more positive relations between young people and the police and between young people and the wider community; and
- effective approaches to issues beyond the school site that negatively impact on pupil safety and behaviour.

Source: SSP Guidance (2009:6)

While there are guidelines to follow, schools and police forces have their own rationale for improving the way in which they work together, most often characterised by local needs and embedded in the school and community context (Lamont, Macleod, & Wilkin, 2011). In Hackney, SSP officers deal mainly with anti-social behaviour, drug use, weapon carrying, child protection issues, gangs, bullying (including cyber-bullying) and attendance (Personal communication, Head of Hackney SSPs, November 2006).

In recent years, funding responsibilities have changed, and schools have become more financially accountable for the deployment of officers. Whereas previously the police force funded officers in schools (as in the piloted SSP scheme), nowadays there is a tendency to move toward more equal division of funds between police and schools. Funding also comes from agencies such as Youth Offending Teams or from area-based initiatives.

After the SSP pilot scheme had been implemented, a few national studies evaluated its effectiveness. The independent Policy Research Bureau conducted the first pilot evaluation in 2002 (Bhabra *et al.*, 2004). It involved 13 schools (eleven SSP schools and two comparison schools). The study was quasi-experimental; although SSP schools showed an improvement in perception of the school environment under the SSP scheme, there were no statistically significant differences

between SSP and comparison schools on behavioural indicators (e.g. bullying, drinking, and truancy). Bhabra *et al.* (2004) attributed the results mainly to the early stage of the scheme (i.e. diversity in implementation resulting from absence of protocols and inconsistent funding levels across partnerships).

A UK national evaluation was conducted in 2005 (Bowles *et al.*, 2005). The study included comparison groups (fifteen SSP schools and fifteen comparison schools) and analysed pre- and post-intervention data. The report suggested that there was a significant reduction in levels of truancy in SSP schools but no improvements in other educational objectives (e.g. GCSE). Investigators reported that pupils in SSP schools felt significantly safer than pupils in comparison schools. Owing to the unavailability of other baseline data, solid inferences about behavioural indicators such as offending could not be made. To improve the quality of further analyses, the investigators suggested ways to share existing information and create a baseline-data source. Another large-scale evaluation was conducted in Scotland. Fifty-five police officers were based in 65 secondary schools across six police forces. The evaluation found that there were clear signs of improvement in pupils' feelings of safety and some evidence of a reduction in criminal activity. The absence of control groups meant that it was impossible to attribute outcomes to the presence of police officers in schools (Black *et al*., 2010).

Smaller-scale evaluations were undertaken to assess levels of success reached by local partnerships. West Sussex County Council used existing data sources (such as local authority data on absenteeism and school exclusion) and staff and pupil questionnaires. Descriptive statistics showed improvements in SSP school pupils' overall feelings of safety. However, there was no reduction in fixed-term exclusions or truancy, crime and anti-social behaviour, nor was there any increase in attendance or attainment. Qualitative data nevertheless showed students and staff valued the scheme (Hayes & Ball, 2008).

A pilot study evaluation commissioned by the London Borough of Southwark stressed the importance of the relationship between the SSP officer and the pupils. The investigators concluded that "young people also have a considerable need for reassurance — especially in areas like

Southwark — and SSP has made a considerable contribution toward this" (FitzGerald & O'Connor, 2004:J).

In recognition of the growing role of police officers in schools across the UK, the NFER funded a scoping study of practice in this area (Lamont *et al.*, 2011). That study drew on four data sources: a literature review; telephone interviews with key stakeholders; information gathered through two case studies, and a survey of schools in two local authority areas. It explored the range of ways that police were working with schools; the impact of that kind of work; the challenges experienced, and the key ingredients for success.

While variability exists, the NFER study suggests that the main responsibilities of police in schools are:

Table 5.1 SSP responsibilities

Enforcement and safety of young people	**Supporting improvements in young people's knowledge and quality of life**	**Strategic and multi- agency preventative working**
• Tackling crime • Discipline, behaviour and safety in schools • Restorative justice	• Curriculum activities • Extracurricular activities • School assemblies • Pastoral support	• Shared intelligence • Multi-agency working • Policy presence and profile

Source: Lamont *et al.*, 2011

The NFER study highlighted both the difficulties and benefits of SSP to schools, police and the community. The most pertinent challenge was negative perceptions of the police (in addition to officers' isolation, unclear role definitions and undefined role boundaries). SSP benefits included increased accessibility (e.g. between pupils, the police and schools); improved relationships (between police and schools, or police and pupils); an increased sense of safety for pupils, teachers and the community; improved attendance; raised achievement; and reduced levels of offending behaviour and poor behaviour in school.

The review indicated that the effect of police in schools on pupils' feelings of safety was straightforward and consistent throughout the studies. Pupils largely felt safer in SSP schools and appreciated an officer's presence. However, SSP's alleged strong impact remains dubious.

Research shows difficulties in presenting solid results when evaluating the effectiveness of SSP-police interventions by measurements of crime reduction or victimisation (Bhabra *et al.*, 2004; Hayes and Ball, 2008; Black *et al*., 2010). Methodological issues (such as the lack of baseline measures) and significant variation in scheme implementation were responsible for the shortcomings.

At the time of data collection, the Hackney SSP team comprised one sergeant, two female officers, and four male officers. Allocation of officers to schools was mostly non-specific, though one school (Stoke Newington) had a dedicated officer. While the borough police are scattered throughout the different Hackney wards, there was a single SSP team meeting point. The SSP officers began the day in the Hackney police station based in Lower Clapton (now closed) with two briefings: one with the SSP team and one with the Safer Neighbourhood team, which covers the area outside the school premises. Then the SSP officers went to the different schools. They ended the day back at the Hackney police station to meet the other team members and log their daily notes. The officers exchanged intelligence and collaborated with different agencies. SSP officers worked closely with head teachers, school governors, the Learning Trust, the local policing team, the Safer Neighbourhood team and YOT.

Now, I will describe the participants and then directly evaluates pupils' general and specific views of the police in the neighbourhood and in school under the SSP. I arrange survey participants' profiles by 1) demographics, 2) association with crime and 3) social capital indicators and then analyse the findings by major ethnic groups.

5.2 Profile of survey participants

5.2.1 Demographics

Nine point two per cent of the sample attended the *Hackney Free School* (now *The Urswick School*), 24.1 per cent attended the *Stoke Newington School*, 26.6 per cent attended the *Skinners' Academy*, and 40.2 per cent attended the *Cardinal Pole Catholic School*. The mean age of the sample of 315 pupils was 13.8 years. The distribution of ages was as follows: *Hackney Free* mean age = 13.9 (11-16); *Cardinal Pole* mean age = 13.4 (11-16); *Skinners* mean age = 14.5 (12-18); *Stoke Newington*

mean age = 13.7 (11-16). Female pupils comprised 58 per cent of the sample, consistent with information provided by the Learning Trust (Personal communication with Trust personnel, September 2009).

A total of 39.4 per cent reported receiving free school meals (FSM) indicating parents' or guardians' low income, and indicative of FSM within the borough; the Learning Trust data (2007) confirmed that about 40 per cent of Hackney pupils were eligible for free school meals, and Department for Education school census 2013[27] figures indicate that in Hackney 36.5 per cent of pupils are known to be eligible for and claiming free school meals. Across the sample, FSM percentages for each ethnic group were: White 28.3; Turkish 72.0; Asian 30.4; African 41.9; Caribbean 35.9 and Other 53.8. The mean FSM percentages by school were: *Hackney Free* = 55.2; *Cardinal Pole* = 41.9; *Skinners* = 39.8; and *Stoke Newington* = 30.6. Later data on eligibility for FSM in Hackney for 2013 shows that pupils from African, Mixed and Caribbean and Turkish/Kurdish/Cypriot ethnicities are disproportionately entitled to FSM (Hackney Council, 2014).

Sixty point six per cent reported living with both parents; 32.1 per cent reported living with only one parent, and the rest reported living in other arrangements (e.g. one parent and step-parent, foster parents).

This sample was of high mobility, reflecting residency and mobility conditions in Hackney. Only 38.7 per cent had not changed homes since they were five years of age. About 20 per cent of the sample had changed homes three times or more since they were five years old.

In terms of citizenship status, 26.4 per cent were immigrants (born outside the UK), 32.9 per cent were first-generation in the UK (born in the UK, but their parents were not), and 40.7 per cent were second (or later) generation in the UK (both pupils and parents were born in the UK) (see Table 5.2 for migration status disaggregated by ethnicity).

[27] https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/schools-pupils-and-their-characteristics-january-2013

Table 5.2 Ethnicity by migration status (%)

	Migrant	1st Generation	2nd+ Generation	N
White	*16.7*	*8.3*	*75.0*	60
Turkish	*36.0*	*52.0*	*12.0*	25
Asian	*20.5*	*48.7*	*30.8*	39
African	*38.3*	*53.1*	*8.6*	81
Caribbean	*19.0*	*12.7*	*68.3*	63
Chinese and other	*33.3*	*33.3*	*33.3*	12
N	74	92	114	280

Source: School Survey

Ethnicity was diverse: White (21.3 per cent), Kurdish-Turkish (8.9 per cent), Asian (13.7 per cent), Black African (29.6 per cent), Black Caribbean (22 per cent), Chinese and Other (4.5 per cent). About ten per cent of the survey informants withheld information about their ethnicity. As for religion, 56.9 per cent were Christians, 1.4 per cent were Buddhist, 0.4 per cent were Jewish, 24.6 per cent were Muslim, 1.1 per cent were Sikh, 11.6 per cent indicated that they had no religion, while 4 per cent followed some other religion not stated. It is likely there were almost no Jews in the sample, although there are many Jewish children in the neighbourhood. This was because the majority tended to go to faith schools.

5.2.2 Association with crime

I now provide descriptive information (including perceptions of safety, offending, victimisation and contact) for the whole sample and for major ethnic groups (White, Black Caribbean, Black African, Asian, Turkish-Kurdish and Other).

Perceptions of safety

The GLA Young Londoners' Survey (2009) found that while only 64 per cent of young people (aged 11-16) felt safe in London as a whole, many more felt safe in their own neighbourhoods (83 per cent), and the vast majority (94 per cent) felt safe in school. An ONS study (2012) found that young people fear for their safety walking home because of bullies, gangs and paedophiles. The fear increases in the winter, probably on account of to poorer lighting.

Table 5.3 Neighbourhood safety statements: Level of agreement

		Response (%)		Score	
	N	**Strongly Agree/ Agree**	**Disagree/ Strongly disagree**	***Mean***	***SD***
Feeling safe during daylight hours	308	*91.2*	*8.8*	1.7	.7
Never feel safe	305	*58.4*	*41.6*	2.3	1.0
Feel safe after dark	302	*51.3*	*48.7*	2.5	1.0
A lot of violence in the neighbourhood	299	*49.2*	*50.8*	2.5	.8
A lot of graffiti in the neighbourhood	295	*49.8*	*50.2*	2.5	.9
A lot of crime in the neighbourhood	300	*50.3*	*49.7*	2.4	.9

Source: School Survey. (Mean: lower numbers = more likely to agree; higher numbers = less likely to agree)

Most of my respondents (58 per cent) had never felt safe in their neighbourhood, which differed from the GLA Young Londoners' Survey finding. What follows below are excerpts from focus group comments on crime in the neighbourhood:

S2: In the neighbourhood? You will see, yeah, I know someone. I know plenty of people that's been stabbed. People hit with crowbars...
M: And do you think it happens elsewhere?
S2: Yeah.
M: Yeah, everywhere. Hackney.
S2: It happens everywhere.
M: Hackney is not special.
S2: Hackney's not, it's not, it doesn't happen in Hackney a lot. It happens in south most of the times.

(Year 10, 25 March 2008)

As in accounts provided by community stakeholders (Chapter 4), participants tried to make sense of their reality by using strategies such as minimising the dangerousness of Hackney or comparing it to other, less safe boroughs.

Neighbourhood safety by ethnicity

In the 'Never feel safe in the neighbourhood' item by ethnicity, African, Turkish and Asian pupils felt slightly safer in the neighbourhood (at 54.8 per cent, 52 per cent, and 52.5 per cent respectively)

than their counterparts (specifically White pupils at 64.5 per cent, Caribbeans at 63.9 per cent and Others at 61.5 per cent) [x^2 (1, $N = 285$) = 28.33, $p < 0.05$].

School safety and incivilities

Table 5.4 indicates that many pupils see the school as a highly disorganised place and yet a safe one, similar to the GLA (2009) findings about school safety.

Table 5.4 School safety and incivility statements: Level of agreement

		Response (%)		Score	
	N	**Strongly Agree/ Agree**	**Disagree/ Strongly disagree**	***Mean***	***SD***
Classrooms are clean	305	*45.2*	*54.8*	2.7	.8
Poor behaviour in school	303	*69.3*	*30.7*	2.2	.8
Regularly breaking rules in school	301	*68.4*	*31.3*	2.2	.8
Safe in school	304	*82.2*	*17.8*	1.9	.8
Need to avoid school because of bullying*	300	*9.7*	*90.3*	3.4	.8
Safe on the way to and from school	306	90.8	9.2	1.7	.7

Source: School Survey (Mean: lower numbers = more likely to agree; higher numbers = less likely to agree) * Item will be discussed in detail in victimisation section below.

School safety by ethnicity

In the 'feel safe in school' item by ethnicity, White, Turkish, Asian, African and Caribbean pupils felt safer (at 83.1 per cent, 84.6 per cent, 90 per cent, 81 per cent and 83.6 per cent respectively) in school than their peers belonging to the Other ethnic group (69.2 per cent).

Offending

Table 5.5 shows the distribution of the different offences in the sample population.

Table 5.5 Offence type

Frequency (%)	**N**	**Type**
23.8	68	Vandalised somebody else's property, or wrote graffiti on walls, buses, trains, seats etc.
18.8	55	Shoplifted or stole anything from a shop, supermarket or department store
17.9	52	Bought, sold or held onto something you knew had been stolen
5.2	15	Stole or tried to steal anything not mentioned above

3.1	9	Sneaked or broke into a building intending to steal
2.1	6	Stole or tried to steal anything from a vehicle
1.7	5	Stole or tried to steal a car, van or motorbike
8.3	24	Attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting him or her
5.2	15	Carried a weapon to school or in your neighbourhood

Source: School Survey.

Thirty-eight point four per cent of the sample reported that they had offended once or more often. This is a higher offending rate than the national rate reported by the YJB survey in 2008, in which 32 per cent of informants admitted a criminal offence in the previous 12 months.

Offending by ethnicity

Black African and Black Caribbean pupils in the sample had the highest rate of school exclusion (14 of 75, 9 of 62) in the last year. No Turkish/Kurdish pupils were excluded. Table 5.6 presents offence frequency by ethnic group.

Table 5.6 Twelve-month offence frequency by ethnic group

	N	**Mean**	**SD**
African	81	1.06	1.5
Caribbean	60	.95	1.4
White	59	.85	1.3
Asian	36	.53	1.3
Other	12	.50	.9
Turkish	23	.26	.7
All offences	271	.83	1.3

Source: School Survey.

Although ethnic groups may vary (as shown in Table 5.6), there was no statistically significant effect of ethnicity on offending at the $p<.05$ level for the six ethnic groups. Eleven out of eighty-three Black African[28] pupils declared they attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them. No Turkish/Kurdish pupil admitted a violent act. In their 2014 Child Poverty Needs Assessment report, Hackney Council indicated that young people from a Black ethnic group committed 54.8 per cent of youth offences in Hackney. Caribbean boys comprised 10 per cent,

[28] Note: the available data does not distinguish between North African and Sub-Saharan African

Black African boys 6 per cent, Mixed ethnic background boys 6 per cent of all Hackney school exclusions in 2011/12 (Hackney council[29], 2014). Generational status and offending were not statistically significant, using both parametric and nonparametric tests.

Victimisation

Table 5.7 provides the distribution of victimisation types with in the sample population.

Table 5.7 Victimisation type

Frequency (%)	*N*	Type
24.2	71	Had something else stolen from them
13.6	40	Had their mobile phone or MP3 player stolen from them
13.9	41	Had something that belongs to them damaged or destroyed on purpose
17.1	50	Were insulted because of their race or ethnicity
4.1	12	Were insulted because of their sex or sexual orientation
3.4	10	Were insulted because of their special needs
2.7	8	Were attacked because of their race or ethnicity
2.4	7	Were attacked because of their sex or sexual orientation
2.0	6	Were attacked because of their special needs
23.0	67	Were threatened by other(s)
15.6	46	Were bullied
7.8	23	Were a victim of an offence not mentioned above

Source: School Survey.

The majority, or 54.5 per cent of survey respondents, had been victimised once or more. This is in line with YJB numbers, which found that 51 per cent of young people had been the victim of an offence.

Victimisation by ethnicity

While there is some variability between ethnic groups, as seen in Table 5.8, there was no statistically significant effect of ethnicity on victimisation at the $p<.05$ level for the six ethnic groups.

[29] Using data from the Ministry of Justice's Youth Offending Information System (YOIS) the Local Authority Interactive Tool and data from the Department of Education on looked after children.

Table 5.8 Twelve-month victimisation frequency by ethnic group [*N*=270]

	Mean	**SD**
African	1.4	2.0
Turkish	1.3	1.9
Asian	1.2	1.7
White	1.2	1.9
Caribbean	1.0	1.2
Chinese and other	1.0	1.1
Total	1.2	1.7

Source: School Survey.

Racially-motivated offences

Fifty pupils had been insulted because of their race or ethnicity (i.e. 6 of 18 Turkish-Kurdish; 10 of 28 Asian; 18 of 65 African; and 8 of 52 Caribbean respondents). Eight reported that they had been attacked because of their ethnicity. Owing to low cell counts, conclusions about associations could not be drawn.

Bullying and fear of bullying

Nearly 10 per cent of respondents in the study felt the need to avoid school because of bullying, 15.6 per cent were bullied, and 17.8 per cent did not feel safe in school. This is a lower rate than what is reported by the BCS. The BCS 2009/2010 found that 22 per cent of children aged 10 to 15 reported being bullied in a way that frightened or upset them in the previous year; however, it does not specify the domain of bullying (school, home or neighbourhood).

Females were significantly more fearful of bullying than male pupils. 11.8 per cent of female respondents and 7.5 per cent of male respondents reported fearing of bullying. [x^2 (1, N = 290) = 8.11, $p < 0.05$].

A female participant openly discussed bullying by a group of girls. A sense of power was intertwined with respect in this account; some of the girls thought that they ought to be respected because of their status outside school (which ties in with network attributes, as described in the social capital section).

S1: You know some girls, they have quite (some power).
S2: Like anything you tell her...
S1: ... you know who I'm talking about.
S2: I know who you're talking about.
S1: There are some girls in this school, yeah, they have so much power. If I could just take it away from them, yeah, I would be so happy.
M: Why do you think they have so much power?
S1: I don't know. They think, oh yeah, I've got this many people outside and stuff. And, like, I just keep out of it...

(Year 11, 25 March 2008)

Participants frequently mentioned possession of power as intimidating, and they indicated that both boys and girls were involved in gang activities.

Offending x Victimisation

The correlation between the aggregate number of offending items and of victimisation items was moderate [r (N=273) = .27, p < .001]. Those who are victimised in high numbers are more likely to offend in high numbers. It is important to explore that as the literature indicates that chronic violent youths may account for a disproportionate share of all youth crime, in particular theft leading to a 'criminal career' (Tracy & Kempf-Leonard, 1996). There is a positive correlation in relation to the variety score (i.e. the total number of different offences that the participant had declared, as a measure of the scale of offending). Table 5.9 shows the distribution of offending by victimisation in the last 12 months.

Table 5.9 Distribution of offending by victimisation

	Never offended	Offended once or more
Never victimized	91	35
Victimised once or more	80	69

Source: School Survey [x^2 (1, N = 275) = 9.969, p < 0.01].

Cross-tabulation between offending and victimisation reveals that 25 per cent (69/275) of those who answered both questions reported offending and being victimised in the previous year. Although results are not statistically significant, cross-tabulation of offending by victimisation by ethnic group reveals that 29 per cent of White pupils and 27 per cent of Caribbean pupils who answered the questions reported both offending and being victimised (once or more). Cross-tabulation of offending by victimisation by generational status revels that 17 per cent of migrant,

24 per cent of first generation and 28 per cent of second generation who answered both questions (reported both offending and being victimised once or more). The contrast for second-generation children was statistically significant. [x^2 (1, N = 107) = 8.73, $p < 0.01$].

Eighteen of 51 who had shoplifted or stolen anything from a supermarket or department store were threatened [x^2(1, N = 285) = 4.39, $p < 0.05$]. Six of 13 who admitted to stealing or attempting to steal anything, which was not mentioned above, also felt threatened [x^2(1, N = 282) = 3.93, $p < 0.05$]. Twenty-six of 66 who vandalised someone's property or wrote graffiti felt threatened [x^2(1, N = 280) = 12, $p < 0.001$]. Eighteen of 49 who bought, sold or held onto something that they knew to have been stolen also felt threatened [x^2 (1, N = 280) = 5.7, $p < 0.05$]. It is impossible to confirm the causal relationship in a cross sectional study but it could be that offences were committed under threat.

Knife-carrying because pupils were fearful was mentioned on several occasions during focus group discussions[30]. This behaviour calls the validity of the offending scale item into question, since the criminal act of knife-carrying connects with fear of victimisation; it does not necessarily reflect criminal propensities. Cross-tabulation revealed that those who were bullied are likely to carry weapons to school. Five of 15 students who carried weapon to school reported also being bullied x^2(1, N = 284) = 3.85, $p < 0.05$.

> S2: Do you know what it is like nowadays? People carry knives because they feel scared, because they feel that, you know, they're going to, like, get hurt or something.
>
> (Year 11, 25 March 2008)

Contact with School Police

Nearly 40 per cent of participants had previous contact with school police and most were familiar with their assigned police officer. While there was no indicator to assess the extent of contact that participants had had with the neighbourhood police, it is assumed that familiarity is considerably

[30] Survey evidence that shows that one per cent of school children attending schools in Inner London report carrying a real gun and six per cent report carrying replicas and air guns in the previous year (Communities That Care, 2005).

lower with neighbourhood police than with school police, and focus group impressions supported this assumption.

Focus group responses were consistent with questionnaire findings for this item. Some participants reported that the school officer's presence was infrequent or irregular. As shown in Table 5.10, about 20 per cent of questionnaire participants reported they saw the officer less than once a month or never, whereas about the same number of pupils saw the police in school every day. There was no statistically significant difference in police sighting by ethnicity.

Table 5.10 Frequency of seeing school police [*N*=302]

	Frequency
At least weekly	*31.5*
At least daily	*23.2*
At least every two weeks	*12.6*
At least monthly	*12.3*
Less often than once a month	*11.9*
Never	*8.6*

Source: School Survey.

BCS (2009/10) findings present slightly different figures: 83 per cent of the children had seen a police officer or PCSO in or around their school in the previous 12 months.

Familiarity and knowledge

Few of the focus-group participants knew the school police officer's name. Some reported that there were multiple officers in their school. Some participants thought that the school police officer's role was to break up fights and keep the area safe in and around the school. Other school police responsibilities were unknown or unclear to them. In terms of hierarchy, pupils believed that the school police officer would be the last authority to approach in case of a problem in school; the first would be the class teacher. This understanding accurately reflects SSP officers' responsibilities as stated by the police foundation.

> It is important therefore that SSP officers use their presence in schools to reinforce the authority of teachers and school staff, not replace it. With the exception of

serious incidents that may require police involvement[31]. (2012:6)

Reasons for contact

Thirty-seven per cent of participants in this survey had had direct contact with the police in school (104 pupils, of whom 91 answered the 'reasons for contact' question), and 25 per cent of respondents had a friend who had had direct contact with the police (Table 5.11).

Table 5.11 Reasons for contact with police* (count)

	Pupil	**Friend**
The officer asked about something me or my friends did	9	12
Told the officer I was physically attacked	7	3
The officer asked to move on	7	4
The officer stopped and searched	6	9
I told the officer something was stolen from me	4	2
I reported a dangerous or suspicious activity	3	3
I told the officer I was verbally abused	2	2
I told the officer I was threatened	2	5
I asked for advice	21	6
General chat	25	14
Other	5	4
Total	91	64

Source: School Survey. *In reference to the last contact a pupil had with the police.

Open-ended answers provided more context to the contacts reported: a police officer escorted a trip with a class, talked to pupils in assembly, talked to pupils in citizenship lessons, talked to a pupil when he ran away from home, and visited a pupil in his house after he was mugged. Pupils initiated the majority of contacts. Asian and Black African pupils reported more police-initiated contact than other ethnicities, as shown in Table 5.12.

[31] http://www.police-foundation.org.uk/uploads/catalogerfiles/safer-school-partnerships/safer_schools_briefing.pdf

Table 5.12 Contact with police by ethnicity

	Student initiated contact	Neutral*	Police-initiated	Total
Asian	3	2	5	10
African	12	7	8	27
Caribbean	9	10	5	24
White	9	3	2	14
Turkish	2	2	-	4
Other	-	2	-	2
Total	35	26	20	81

Source: School Survey. Neutral*= General Chat

While 91 students answered the preceding question (about reason for contact), 95 answered the question about satisfaction. Almost nine out of ten were satisfied or very satisfied with their treatment by the police in school. Likewise, the BCS (2009/10) findings relating to contact in the neighbourhood suggest that, regardless of who initiated the contact, the majority of informants were satisfied with it. (In the present study, 79 per cent of pupils were satisfied with contact they had initiated; 77 per cent were satisfied with contact initiated by the police).

Reasons for Friends' Contact

While 76 pupils said they had such a friend only 64 answered the question regarding the reasons for friends' contact (see Table 5.11). Cross-tabulation between pupils' and friends' reasons for contact could not be performed as all cells had counts of less than five.

5.2.3 Social life

Routine activities

Routine activities are sites of intersection between people and group affiliations (Felson *et al*., 2015) and of generation of social trust[32]. The quality of relationships and levels of trust experienced in particular neighbourhoods are important aspects of a sense of belonging and community identity. The level of social activity is influenced by area of residence, which determines opportunities for social activities. As shown in table 5.13, the most frequent activity participants reported was going

[32] A longitudinal study by Sturgis et al, 2012 that looked into social connectedness and general trust found that generalized trust does not necessarily flow from membership in associations.

to a shopping centre, (88 per cent of respondents) and going to a party, the cinema, the theatre or a concert were also commonly reported activities. Pupils also participated in organisations by attending: religious services, a group or a club, a Scout or Guide group, and volunteering activity. Table 5.13 shows a relatively low involvement of survey participants in these organisations' activities.

Table 5.13 Routine activities in the past month (%)

A shopping centre	*87.9*
A party	*60.4*
A cinema, theatre or concert	*60.3*
A religious service	*52.3*
A group or club	*51.1*
A leisure or sports centre	*50.2*
A volunteering activity	*20.1*
A Scout or Guide group	*7.1*

Source: School Survey.

The 2009/2010 BCS found that 59 per cent of 10-15 year-olds thought there were enough activities in their local area for children of their age. Children aged ten to twelve years were more likely than 13-15 year-olds to have said there were enough activities. Children living in the most deprived areas were less likely to agree that there was enough to do in their area than children who lived in other areas.

Asian and Turkish children were less likely to participate in a group or club (e.g. a youth club or school club), at 30.8 per cent and 34.6 per cent respectively, whereas other ethnicities were more likely to participate in such activities, with 61.3 per cent of Caribbean children participating [x^2 (5, N = 287) = 13.25, $p < 0.05$]. This may coincide with family structure—Caribbean children are more likely to live in single- (and working) parent families, in which after-school arrangements are more needed. Specifically, only 54.1 per cent of African and 38.1 per cent of Caribbean students live with both parents [x^2 (5, N = 285) = 45.29, $p < 0.05$]. At the other end of the spectrum, Turkish children are more likely to come from traditional two-parent families (76.9 per cent of Turkish pupils live with both parents) and are more likely to have an adult looking after them. As such, there is less need for them to go to after-school clubs. Asian, African and Caribbean children were

most likely to have attended a religious service in the previous four weeks — as four out of five Black Africans did. Only 22.6 per cent of White and 28 per cent of Turkish children attended a religious service in the previous month [x^2 *(5, N* = 288) = 57.098, $p < 0.001$]. Focus group excerpts on free-time activities highlight the theme of unstructured socialisation:

M: Do you meet with friends?
S1: Yeah.
M: Whereabouts?
S1: In the street.
M: In the street?
M: And what do you do when you meet with your friends?
S1: ... football, youth clubs.
S1: They gave us pool, table tennis (...)
M: Where is the one that you usually go to? And how often do you go there?
S1. They're closed down at the moment.
M: Oh really? Why?
S1. They're redecorating inside. They're redecorating.
M: So you do you have anywhere else to go?
Sl: Yeah, I play football.

(Year 10, 25 March 2008)

S2: I go to cadets.
M: Cadets? Okay, and what do you do there?
S2: Shoot guns.
S3: Parties in warehouses.
M: So how do you know about that, just from word of mouth?
S3: ... friends and that. I'm going to one on Friday, and I've got the stuff in my bag, ready, but you just, you go down there and you saw the posters, and they say call this number and then you just go to the party, turn up there cause it's boring, innit? Cause normally it's boring, so they just throw a party. It's, like, something to do.

(Year 10, 25 March 2008).

A variety of data dominated accounts by focus-group participants, showing similar issues of unstructured activities and limited opportunities for structured activity, accompanied by boredom.

Friendship networks

Criminological literature focuses mainly on the effect of youth networks upon anti-social attitudes that manifest in acceptance of deviant behaviours and challenges to authority. In practice, the Youth

Justice Board's approach to 'risk' emphasises individual and family factors such as peer-group associations **(**Nacro, 2007). However, there is a strong association between a child's friendship networks and embeddedness in institutions (such as school and family) and their pro-social values and opinions (The Good Childhood Report, 2012). Table 5.14 reveals the sample's friendship profiles.

Table 5.14 Friendship characteristics [*N*=292]

Count	***My friends….***
246	Are my age
239	Are from my school
195	Are the same sex
184	Listen to the music I listen to
175	Are from the same neighbourhood or estate
166	Watch the movies I watch
142	Hang around on the same streets
140	Wear the style of clothes I wear
136	Play the sports games I play
128	Play the computer games I play
119	Are from the same ethnic background
105	Are from my extended family
98	Are from my immediate family
78	Speak the same non-English language I speak

Source: School Survey.

Ninety-five per cent of respondents (296 pupils) had a group of friends with whom they met regularly. The YJB (2009) similarly found that four out of five young people in formal education considered themselves to be part of a group of three or more people. Most pupils in the present study were in networks with the same age friends and with friends attending the same school. Networks based on familial or ethnic background characterised one third of the sample.

Cross-tabulation between ethnicity and friendship characteristics reveals the following: 25 per cent of White, 40 per cent of Asian, 28 per cent of Turkish-Kurdish, 42 per cent of African Black, 25 per cent of Caribbean Black and 45 per cent of Chinese and Other ethnic background reported spending the most time with friends from their immediate family (NS).

Sixty per cent of Turkish-Kurdish, 60 per cent of Asian, 45 per cent of African, 30 per cent of Caribbean and 27 per cent of White children reported spending the most time with friends of the same ethnic background [x^2 (5, N = 271) = 17.657 p < 0.01]. Relatedly those who reported spending time with friends of the same ethnic background tended to be migrants and first generation [x^2 (2, N = 270) = 7.86 p < 0.01]. A quarter of the sample reported spending time with friends who speak the same foreign language, which ties in with the data on migration status: 34 out of 77 migrants reported spending the most time with friends who speak the same foreign language. Table 5.15 presents the distribution of foreign language-based friendship networks by ethnic group. Pupils reported spending the most time with friends speaking the same foreign language, which was significantly related to ethnic background [x^2 (1, N = 270) = 36.72 p < 0.001].

Table 5.15 Foreign language-based friendship network by ethnic group [N=270]

	%
Turkish	*72*
Asian	*41*
Chinese and other	*36*
African	*25*
White	*17*
Caribbean	*15*
Total	*28*

Source: School Survey.

Different languages are spoken in these friendship networks: Turkish, Kurdish, Spanish, French and Polish.

Friendship attributes

Sixty-seven per cent of the sample (185 pupils) agreed that being part of a group provided them with respect from others outside the group. Sixty per cent (165 pupils) agreed that being part of a group provided them with a sense of power. Eighty-five per cent (240 pupils) agreed that being part of a group provided them with a feeling of belonging. Ninety-three per cent (253 pupils) agreed that being part of a group provided them with support.

A statistically significant relationship between all attributes was exhibited when a correlation test was performed. The following relationships were the strongest: (1) between the feeling of

belonging and support provided by being part of the group: r =.52 (p <0.01), and (2) between a sense of power provided by being part of a group and respect from others: r = .52 (p <0.01).

Support network

As seen in Table 5.16, between six point two and 11.5 per cent of those who answered questions about support networks reported that no one noticed their problem, talked with them about it, or gave them advice. Respondents were able to choose as many as applied from the list of possible support sources. Eighteen participants had no one to talk to when they had a personal problem; 30 participants had no one who would notice if they had a problem, and 22 did not have anyone they could ask for advice about a problem.

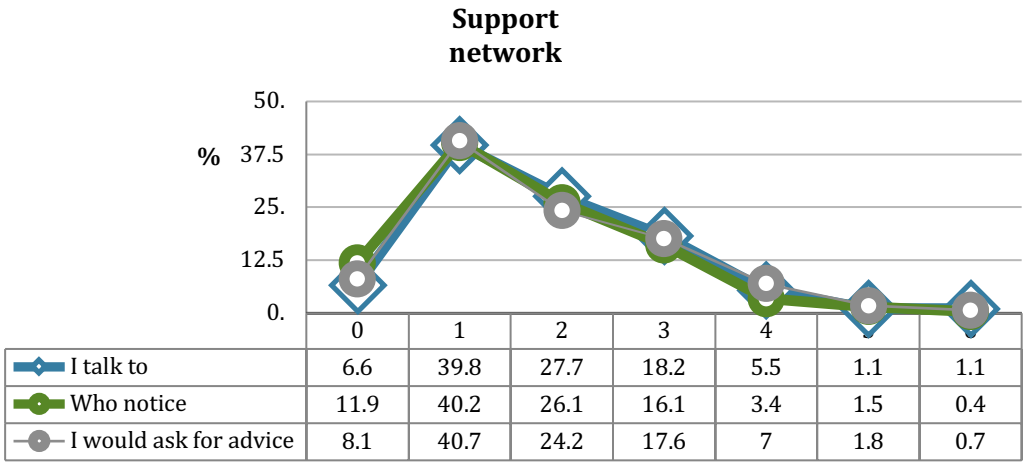
Table 5.16 Individuals who provide support (%)

	Parent	**Sibling**	**Friend**	**Teacher**	**Mentor**	**Other**	**None**
Talk to	*58.4*	*27.1*	*70.0*	*8.4*	*6.6*	*13.9*	*6.2*
Notice Me	*59.2*	*24.0*	*54.6*	*15.7*	*5.3*	*6.9*	*11.5*
Ask Advice	*56.6*	*25.0*	*59.6*	*19.9*	*11.8*	*11.0*	*7.7*

Source: School Survey.

It should be noted that mentors were not available to pupils at all times. Many pupils reported they would approach teachers for advice, which is a positive finding. Although parents were not be the first people a pupil would consult about a problem, they would be the first to notice that the problem existed.

Figure 5.1 Support network size



Source: School Survey.

Figure 5.1 shows support networks' size distribution by theme. Most respondents had at least one person who (1) would notice, or (2) could be relied on for talking with, or (3) could be asked for advice. ANOVA results were statistically significant for the number of people who would notice that the informant had a problem. [$F(5, 234) = 2.339$ $p<0.05$]. Across the three questions above, Asian children had the smallest support network; see table 5.17 for support network size by ethnic background. The other tests were not statistically significant.

Table 5.17 Number of people who would notice I have a problem

	Mean	SD
White	1.7	1.2
Turkish	1.4	.9
Asian	1.1	.8
African	1.9	1.3
Caribbean	1.8	1.2
Other	1.7	1.2
Total	1.7	1.2

Source: School Survey.

Focus group participants shared their feelings about a deficit in support and its possible results:

S1: So I'm not going to lie. I have carried a knife 'cause I was scared about being raped by my ex.
S1: He was crazy.
M: And you felt safer when ...
S1: I felt safe when I had it 'cause I thought if he came from behind, I would just stab him (multiple voices). No, but I was really scared. You don't know what he did to me. He beats me up. What you expect me to do?
M: Why didn't you go to tell someone about it?
S1: I told. I notified the police, and they said that they need more information about him but because like, you know, my tradition, like, you're not supposed to have boyfriends, and I, they said that I'd have to start involving my parents, and I can't do that. That's something I can't do, so if I told my parents, they would have probably just kicked me out and said, "You brought it to yourself, so now you deal with it." They wouldn't have been supportive so I had to deal with it all on my own, but like seven months. And I was trying, and I was like giving up my studies, and I don't know... Now I just got it all back 'cause I got rid of him. I'd say, if you're going to tell my parents, tell my parents. I've got nothing to lose anymore.
M: And you were disappointed the police couldn't really [help].
S1: Yeah, I told them; they said they could place an injunction order on him, but if he, say, if he doesn't follow the injunction or if he still comes in next to my area, then they've going to take him to court, and that means if, because I'm under 18, then my parents are going to have to come with me to court.
M: And you didn't want them to.
S1: And I actually didn't want that so I just have to deal with it on my own (Year 10, 25 March 2008)

Similarly one Kurdish Community leader who took part in the earlier stage of the study ('Community Voices', Chapter 4) shared that he managed to talk with young people in trouble while discussing their realities of lack of support:

> ... I'm asking [these kids], "Why did you become a member of gang?" They said, "Because I am scared of everything. Nobody helps me." That's why they came together to protect themselves at the beginning. (Interviewee 7)

Those two excerpts demonstrate the impact of lack of social support by showing how a young person in trouble could not access legitimate help and was likely to resort to self-defence while risking ending up on the pathway to more violence and adversity.

Participants' profiles show young people who often feel unsafe in their neighbourhoods, exposed to crime and disorder and have committed offences or have been victimised more frequently than the national average. Despite these factors, most of the respondents had at least one confidant to notice or with whom to share their problem and from whom to receive support. The descriptive statistics show that the Black African group had the highest rate of offending. Black pupils reported the highest rate of school exclusions, Turkish/Kurdish pupils the least. These trends are in line with data from Hackney Council. Those reported involvement in offending and being victimised (overlap) are more likely to be White, Caribbean and second-generation. The least likely to be in that group are Turkish/Kurdish and migrants. Turkish/Kurdish pupils are the most likely to spend time with friends from their ethnic group, and White and Caribbean pupils are the least likely. Asian pupils have the smallest support group; African pupils have the largest support group. Bullying affected females more than males. Pupils who felt the least safe in school belonged to the 'other' ethnic background. The next section explores the relationship between general evaluations of the police in school and in the neighbourhood.

For the correlation matrix of independent variables, please refer to Appendix 9.

5.3 Evaluations of the police in school and in the neighbourhood

This section will explore the relationship between the independent variables. Survey results indicated that only 37.5 per cent held positive views of police in the neighbourhood, while 55.2 per cent held positive views of the police in their schools.

Putting the numbers in context, only 37.5 per cent of the sample held positive views of police in the neighbourhood, which is much lower than figures related to adults' views. The BCS figures show that the proportion of adults who gave the local police a positive rating increased from 47 per cent in 2003/04 to 53 per cent in 2008/9 and to 59 per cent in 2010/11. More recently, the proportion

of adults who gave the local police a positive rating was higher still: 63 per cent in 2013/14; 61 per cent in 2012/13; and 62 per cent in 2011/12 (Walker *et al.*, 2009). A Chi-square test investigated whether evaluations of police in schools and in the neighbourhood were related.

Table 5.18 General evaluation of school/neighbourhood police (%)

		Neighbourhood Police		
		*Positive**	*Negative***	N
School Police	Positive*	*51.0*	*49.0*	153
	Negative**	*21.1*	*78.7*	127
	Total	*37.5*	*62.5*	280

Source: School Survey. Positive* – excellent, good job; Negative** – fair, poor and very poor [$x^2(1, N=280) = 26.15$ $p < 0.001$]

The test showed that pupils who negatively evaluated the police in schools were also more negative toward the police in the neighbourhood. Almost four out of five of those who evaluated the school police negatively also evaluated the neighbourhood police negatively, whereas half of those who evaluated the school police positively made similar evaluations of the neighbourhood police. Where double evaluations are concerned, this might indicate an effect of one domain on the other.

Focus-group discussions elaborated on how pupils try to make sense of the police presence and role in different domains. While some participants thought all police were the same, others thought that police in schools were inherently different. In their opinion, the role of school police was to keep the area safe in and around school, whereas police in the neighbourhood were there to keep Hackney safe, as seen in the excerpt below.

S1: I think they're all the same.
S2: They're just walking around.
S3: I think the police ... in the school understand more like.
S4: Yeah, they know how it is.
M: They understand more?
S4: Yeah, like even if you... like if you... they would just understand everyone and say nothing.

S3: Like school police allows it, yeah, but outside school, yeah, it's a different story.

S4: ... if you have a real fight in school you're not going to get arrested, but outside school it would be different.

M: Yeah. So you feel more comfortable here?

S1: This is an artificial environment, innit? Everyone's pretending... This is not the real world... I don't really care.

(Year 11, 25 March 2008)

The next set of tests explored the relationship between ethnicity and generational status and general views of the police in both domains. Table 5.19 presents the distribution of general attitudes in both domains by ethnic background.

Table 5.19 General attitudes by ethnicity

		Neighbourhood Police		Total [N]
	School police	*Positive view (%)*	*Negative view (%)*	
White	Positive view	*29*	*33*	36
	Negative view	*5*	*33*	22
Turkish	Positive view	*52*	*17*	16
	Negative view	*9*	*22*	7
Asian	Positive view	*44*	*22*	24
	Negative view	*0*	*33*	12
African	Positive view	*20*	*31*	38
	Negative view	*12*	*37*	37
Caribbean	Positive view	*19*	*28*	27
	Negative view	*16*	*38*	31
Chinese and other	Positive view	*38*	*23*	8
	Negative view	*0*	*38*	5
Total [N]	Positive view	76	73	149
	Negative view	23	91	114

Source: School Survey. Other: negative to school police + positive to neighbourhood police; positive school police + negative neighbourhood police; positive school and neighbourhood police.

The Chi-square test for individual ethnic background was not statistically significant across the board. However the test for the *total* was statistically significant [x^2 (1, N = 263) = 26.155 p < 0.001]. Table 5.20 presents the distribution of general attitudes in both domains by generational status.

Table 5.20 General attitudes by generational status

		Neighbourhood police		Total [N]
	School police	*Positive view (%)*	*Negative view (%)*	
Migrants	Positive view	*37*	*22.5*	42
	Negative view	*11*	*29.5*	29
1st	Positive view	*27.5*	*26*	43
	Negative view	*9*	*37.5*	37
2nd	Positive view	*23*	*32*	60
	Negative view	*10*	*35*	50
Total [N]	Positive view	73	72	145
	Negative view	26	90	116

Source: School Survey. Other: negative to school police + positive to neighbourhood police; positive school police + negative neighbourhood police; positive school and neighbourhood police.

The Chi-square test for individual generational status was statistically significant as well as for the whole [x^2 (1, N = 261) = 21.35 $p < 0.001$]. Migrants were the most likely to hold double positive views (37 per cent of migrants), as well as Turks (who tend to be migrant/first generation) and Asians, whereas second-generation respondents were the most likely to hold double negative views (35 per cent of second-generation), as well as Caribbeans, Africans and Others.

The next section presents findings from binary logistic regressions and correlations to test hypotheses related to pupils' general evaluations of the police in schools.

5.4 General attitudes toward the neighbourhood and school police (SSPs)

In exploring the factors that explain young people's attitudes toward the police, this section seeks to answer questions concerning the relationship between several variables and pupils' general attitudes toward the police. Scale categories were collapsed into two categories: positive and negative police evaluation. Bivariate associations are presented below:

Table 5.21 General attitudes toward the police by IVs

		School police			*Neighbourhood police*		
Blocks	Variable	Test Value	*p*-value	*N*	Test Value	*p*-value	*N*
Demographics							
	Age	t =-1.26	.21	282	t=-1.4	.17	179
	Gender	X^2 =.91	.39	280	X^2 =.72	.4	277
	SES (SFM)	X^2 =.12	.73	277	X^2 =3.39	.07	274
	Generational status	X^2 =.50	.78	267	X^2 =.4.32	.12	264
	Ethnicity	X^2 =6.52	.26	268	X^2 =7.93	.16	266
	Schools	X^2 =9.94	.02	286	X^2 =1.07	.79	283
Crime and police contact							
	Victimised	X^2 =.15	.7	273	X^2 =.062	.80	271
	Offended	X^2 =10.53	.00	267	X^2 =9.18	.00	264
	Direct/indirect contact	X^2 =2.54	.47	250	X^2 =5.62	.13	249
	Safety in school	X^2 =10.89	.01	276	X^2 =.1.96	.58	273
	Safety in the neighbourhood	X^2 =8.10	.04	278	X^2 =.3.63	.30	275
Network							
	Immediate family	X^2 =9.23	.00	266	X^2 =.04	.85	264
	Ethnic background	X^2 =1.08	.3	267	X^2 =.21	.65	265
	Support network	t=2.2	.03	249	t=1.80	.08	247

Source: School Survey.

The only variable with a significant relationship to attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood was offending. Offending and feeling unsafe in both domains are related to decreased regard for the police in school. Pupils' attitudes vary by schools. Embeddedness in a family network, and the size of support network were related to attitudes toward the police in school. Ethnicity bears no relationship with attitudes.

5.4.1 Binary Logistic Regression: Pupils' general attitudes to the police in the neighbourhood

I use binary logistic regressions to test hypotheses related to general evaluations of the police in the neighbourhood while controlling for assorted variables. When relevant, I also include information from correlational tests and focus-group accounts.

Table 5.22 Logistic regression: Student evaluations of neighbourhood police

Model number	**I**			**II**			**III**		
	B	**s.e.**	***OR***	**B**	**s.e.**	***OR***	**B**	**s.e.**	***OR***
Controls									
Age	.108	.098	1.114	.167	.103	1.181	.208*	.107	1.231
Male	-.313	.416	.731	-.430	.439	.651	-.328	.453	.721
SES/FSM	-.224	.385	.799	-.185	.399	.831	-.052	.415	.949
Immigrant[1]	-.079	.449	.924	.022	.477	1.022	-.065	.494	.937
1st generation[1]	-.140	.475	.869	-.225	.518	.798	-.393	.543	.675
Turkish[2]	-.291	.692	.747	.017	.737	1.017	-.118	.756	.889
Asian[2]	-.188	.574	.829	.053	.626	1.054	-.277	.658	.758
African[2]	.617	.561	1.853	.683	.606	1.980	.632	.631	1.881
Caribbean[2]	.311	.493	1.364	.272	.517	1.313	.273	.539	1.314
Other[2]	.254	.961	1.290	.634	.994	1.886	.608	1.015	1.836
CP[3]	.206	.608	1.228	.257	.653	1.292	.742	.707	2.100
Skinners[3]	.237	.671	1.268	.158	.726	1.172	.601	.781	1.824

SN[3]	.805	.654	2.237	.907	.708	2.477	1.208	.747	3.348
Crime and Police contact									
Victimization				.281	.355	1.324	.223	.370	1.249
Offending				.850*	.403	2.339	.689	.417	1.992
Had no contact & friend had contact				.851	.657	2.343	1.071	.689	2.919
Had contact & friend no contact				.723	.475	2.061	.893	.491	2.443
Had contact & friend had contact				.022	.564	1.022	.176	.579	1.193
Not safe in school				.124	.495	1.132	-.010	.511	.990
Not safe in neighbourhood				.248	.373	1.281	.493	.394	1.637
Networks									
Friends from immediate family							-.120	.408	.887
Friends from same ethnic background							.468	.405	1.596
Support network							-.363*	.161	.696
Constant	-1.288	1.593	.276	-3.016	1.776	.049	-3.482	1.825	.031
X^2			7.770			21.025			27.417
C&S/N R^2			.045/.061			.118/.160			.151/.204

***p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * P<0.05 1 Reference category is white; 2 Reference category is second generation; 3 Reference category is pilot school; 4 Reference category is had no contact & friend had no contact.

Model 1 includes demographic variables. The model improves prediction of attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood (61.3 per cent→63.1 per cent) within the sample. [*C&S/* Nagelkerke R^2 =.045/.061]

Model 2 includes demographic variables, police contact and association with crime indicators. 'Offending' increased the odds of negative evaluations of the police in schools (OR = 2.48, p<0.05). Model 2 improves prediction of attitudes to the police in school (63.1 per cent→64.3 per cent). [*C&S/* Nagelkerke R^2 =11.8/.160]

Model 3 includes demographic, contact, crime and victimisation and social capital variables. Age became significant (OR = 1.231 p<0.05) whereas offending ceased being significant. This model was able to capture a contribution to positive neighbourhood police evaluation by network of support (OR = .696, p<0.05).

The model improved the classification of attitudes toward the police (from 64.3 per cent to 69 per cent) [*C&S/*Nagelkerke R^2 =*.151/.204*]. However, none of the three models are statistically significant, meaning that no model provides a better fit for the data than a model with no predictive variables. While it is therefore problematic to interpret single predictors, non-significance in itself is a finding to be interpreted and the direction of the relationships warrants further exploration.

Hypothesis 1: ***General attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood will differ by ethnic background.***

There is no difference in attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood along ethnic lines.

Hypothesis 2: ***General attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood will differ by generational status.***

There is no difference along generational lines in attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood.

Hypothesis 3: ***General attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood will differ by other demographic indicators: age, gender, eligibility for free school meals.***

Neither gender nor SES (for which eligibility for free school meals stands proxy) was a

significant correlate in any of the models. Age became a significant variable after controlling for crime and contact and social capital variables.

Hypothesis 4: ***General attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood will vary among participants depending on direct and indirect experience with the police.***

With controls for other variables in the regression analysis, neither first- nor second-hand experience was found to be a statistically significant correlate of general attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood.

Hypothesis 5: ***General attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood will vary among participants depending on victimisation and offending experience.***

Pupils who had offended held more negative views on the police in the neighbourhood than those who did not offend. After controlling for social capital variables in the model, offending ceased to be a significant variable. Having been victimised had no significant relationship with the evaluation of neighbourhood police.

Hypothesis 6: ***General attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood will vary among participants depending how safe they feel in the neighbourhood and/or school.***

Feeling un/safe in school or in the neighbourhood had no significant relationship with general attitudes to the police in the neighbourhood.

Hypothesis 7: ***General attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood vary among participants depending on type of social networks.***

Having friends from the same ethnic background or immediate family did not yield any significant results.

Hypothesis 8: ***General attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood will vary among participants depending on the size of their support network.***

Results suggest that those with better appreciation of the police tended to have a larger network of support. Logistic regression showed that support network was a significant correlate of

attitudes when controlling for other variables. As the network of support grew in size, the likelihood of positive evaluations increased (OR = .696, p <0.05).

Hypothesis 9*: General attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood will vary between schools.*

There was no attitudinal difference between the four participating schools, after controlling for other variables.

5.4.2 Binary Logistic Regression: Pupils' general attitudes to the police in school

I use binary logistic regression to test hypotheses related to general evaluations of the police in schools, while controlling for assorted variables. Where relevant, I include information from correlational tests and focus-group accounts.

Table 5.23 Logistic regression: Student evaluations of school Police

Model number	**I**			**II**			**III**		
	B	**s.e.**	***OR***	**B**	**s.e.**	***OR***	**B**	**s.e.**	***OR***
Controls									
Age	-.108	.097	.898	-.053	.102	.949	-.032	.112	.968
Male	-.172	.411	.842	-.149	.444	.862	.230	.485	1.259
SES/FSM	-.075	.383	.927	.116	.406	1.123	.370	.441	1.447
Immigrant[1]	-.811	.460	.444	-.819	.488	.441	-1.179*	.534	.307
1st generation[1]	-.312	.477	.732	-.493	.521	.611	-1.035	.581	.355
Turkish[2]	-.489	.709	.613	-.102	.766	.903	-.177	.862	.838
Asian[2]	-.546	.602	.579	-.118	.656	.889	-.058	.704	.943
African[2]	.829	.556	2.291	1.115	.606	3.049	1.580*	.668	4.855
Caribbean[2]	.250	.484	1.284	.297	.515	1.346	.156	.558	1.168
Other[2]	-.163	.977	.850	.051	1.006	1.053	.376	1.050	1.457
CP[3]	-.637	.640	.529	-.470	.668	.625	.149	.753	1.161
Skinners[3]	-.238	.694	.788	-.283	.743	.754	.666	.828	1.946

SN[3]	-.978	.674	.376	-.912	.708	.402	-1.091	.782	.336
Crime and Police contact									
Victimization				-.227	.357	.797	-.399	.384	.671
Offending				.91*	.397	2.482	.839*	.433	2.31
Had no contact & friend had contact				-.163	.592	.850	-.039	.646	.962
Had contact & friend no contact				-.653	.466	.520	-.521	.500	.594
Had contact & friend had contact				.027	.592	1.027	.182	.642	1.19
Not safe in school				.304	.507	1.356	-.175	.562	.839
Not safe in neighbourhood				.964**	.380	2.622	1.33**	.439	3.79
Networks									
Friends from immediate family							-1.389**	.439	.249
Friends from same ethnic background							-.470	.416	.625
Support network							-.449*	.181	.639
Constant	2.136	1.595	8.462	.339	1.752	1.404	.909	1.924	2.481
X^2		14.138			28.947			50.524***	
C&S/N R^2		.080/.107			.157/.211			.258/.346	

***p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * P<0.05
1 Reference category is white; 2 Reference category is second generation; 3 Reference category is pilot school; 4 Reference category is had no contact & friend had no contact

Model 1 includes demographic variables. The model improves prediction of attitudes toward the police in school (55 per cent→60.4 per cent) within the sample. [*C&S/* Nagelkerke R^2 =.080/.107]

Model 2 includes demographic variables, police contact and association with crime indicators. 'Offending' increased the odds of negative evaluations of the police in schools (OR = 2.48, p <0.05), as did 'feeling unsafe in the neighbourhood' (OR = 2.62 p <0.01). Model 2 improves prediction of attitudes to the police in school (60.4 per cent→71 per cent). [*C&S/* Nagelkerke R^2 = 157/.211]

Model 3 includes demographic, contact, crime and victimisation and social capital variables. Black African background became statistically significant (OR = 4.8 p <0.05) whereas offending (OR = 2.31 p <0.05) and feeling unsafe in the neighbourhood remained significant as in the earlier model. These variables are associated with increased odds of negative evaluations of the police in schools.

This model was able to capture a contribution to positive school police evaluation by immigrant status pupils (OR = .307 p <0.05). Migrants were more positive than non-migrants. Network-based immediate family (OR = .249 p<0.01) and network of support (OR = .639, p<0.05) are variables associated with increased chance of positive evaluations of the police in school.

The model improved the classification of attitudes toward the police (from 71 per cent to 74 per cent) and is statistically significant. (Δ R^2=*.134*). In other words, 13.4 per cent of the variation in general attitudes toward the school police is explained by the additional network variables. [*C&S/* Nagelkerke R^2 =258/.346]

Hypothesis 1: ***General attitudes toward the police in school will differ by ethnic background.***

Of ethnic groups in the survey, Black Africans were the least positive toward school police. When controlling for other variables, being Black increased the chance of negative attitudes toward the police almost fivefold.

Hypothesis 2: ***General attitudes toward the police in school will differ by generational status.***

After controlling for criminal association, contact and social capital variables, immigrants maintained more positive general attitudes toward the police in school than their first and second-generation counterparts.

Hypothesis 3: ***General attitudes toward the police in school will differ by other demographic indicators: age, gender, eligibility for free school meals.***

Neither age, gender nor SES (for which eligibility for free school meals stood proxy) was a significant correlate of any of the models.

Hypothesis 4: ***General attitudes toward the police in school will vary among participants, depending on direct and indirect experience with the police.***

With controls for other variables in the regression analysis, neither first- nor second-hand experience was found to be a statistically significant correlate of general attitudes toward the police in school.

Hypothesis 5: ***General attitudes toward the police in school will vary among participants depending on victimisation and offending experience.***

Pupils who had offended held more negative views on the police in schools than those who did not offend. After controlling for social capital correlates in the model, offending ceased to be significant. Pupils' self-reported offending is associated with a more than doubly increased chance of negative attitudes toward the police in school. Having been victimised had no significant relationship with the evaluation of school police (although it was associated with more positive attitudes).

Hypothesis 6: ***General attitudes toward the police in school will vary among participants depending how safe they feel in the neighbourhood and/or school.***

Feeling un/safe in school had no significant relationship with general attitudes to the police in school. Feeling unsafe in the neighbourhood continued to be associated with negative evaluations of school police when other variables in the model were controlled.

Hypothesis 7: ***General attitudes toward the police in school will vary among participants depending on type of social networks.***

While having friends from the same ethnic background did not yield any significant findings, having a friend from one's immediate family was associated with a higher regard for the police in school.

Hypothesis 8: ***General attitudes toward the police in school will vary among participants depending on the size of their support network.***

Results suggest that those with better appreciation of the police tended to have a larger network of support. Logistic regression showed that support network was a significant correlate of attitudes when controlling for other variables. As the network of support grew in size, the likelihood of positive evaluations increased (OR = .639, p <0.05).

Hypothesis 9***: General attitudes toward the police in school will vary between schools.***
There was no attitudinal difference between the four participating schools, when controlling for other variables.

In sum, statistical tests show that a Black African background, offending history, and feeling unsafe in the neighbourhood were associated with increased chance of a negative evaluation of the school police when controlling for other variables. Second-hand contact was not a significant variable of evaluations of the school police when other variables were controlled. Having friends from the immediate family, a larger support network and immigrant status were associated with an increased likelihood of positive general attitudes toward the police in school.

5.5 Discussion

Pupils expressed a higher overall regard for the police in school than in the neighbourhood. More than half of the pupils thought police in schools did a good or excellent job. That compares with only a third who thought the same of neighbourhood police, which is lower than the adult rating. A similar trend in the Home Office findings was that 16-24 year-olds show less trust in the police than older people (Pennant, 2005).

School police were perceived as more accessible but less intimidating, and were more highly regarded than police on the street. However, a large group held negative views of police both in school and in the neighbourhood, implying a causal effect of negative opinions from one

domain to the other, though the direction of effect can be explored only in a longitudinal study. The following discussion focuses on findings derived from associations and from the model that explored attitudes to school police, and less on findings from the attitudes toward the neighbourhood police model (which was not statistically significant).

The lack of significance of the neighbourhood statistical model suggests that variables that predict attitudes towards school police are unlikely to be the same as those that predict attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood. This is perhaps attributed to identification issues caused by the diversification of the force and the different responsibilities carried out by the different police officers and/or their teams. Another possibility is that ethnicity operates differently (in terms of causation and non-directional relationship) in the two domains; the fact that one tenth of the sample withheld information about their ethnic background may have had an impact on the significance level.

5.5.1 Neighbourhood: Safety, collective efficacy and legal cynicism

Young people demonstrated an understanding of the realities of Hackney life and shared their experiences of crime and safety in the borough, many of which were similar to accounts given by community leaders (discussed in Chapter 4). From focus-group accounts, it is clear a portion of the sample was engaged in unstructured activities with limited or no adult supervision despite the fact that the opposite is required for children's wellbeing (as enshrined in the Parenting Contracts and Orders[33]). The availability of leisure facilities and safe and open green spaces is also a recognised protective factor (Joloza, 2012). This ties in with the notion of compromised collective efficacy common to low-income neighbourhoods. A substantial number of participants reported carrying a knife for protection, suggesting that young people do not feel safe. Studies have reported effects of collective efficacy — or specifically the lack of it, i.e. lack of neighbourhood-level supervision or regulation — on unstructured socialisation with peers as well as early initiation into sexual behaviour (Sampson, 2012; Wikström *et al.*, 2010; Maimon & Browning, 2010).

Both in the survey and in focus-group discussions, pupils perceived the neighbourhood as highly disordered and crime-ridden. Those who felt unsafe in their neighbourhood were more likely to have negative evaluations of the police in school. Legal cynicism, expressed by those

[33] http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/7949/7/parenting-contracts.pdf

who do not consider themselves bound by laws or rules, was also evident, reflecting general beliefs about the legitimacy of law and social norms, providing the narrative when dealing with the police. The account below demonstrates this type of positioning:

S: People don't take really the police seriously.
M: Do you think so?
S: You can't take them seriously because **(–)** details and hold you to the **(–).**
S: No one cares about them. If they see them, they'll call them pig.
M: Have you ever been stopped and searched?
S: Yeah, plenty times.
S: Someone, a guy, a community officer, tried to stop me and I just laughed at him and he couldn't do nothing. I know that was bad, but ...

(Year 10, 25 March 2008)

Respondents felt that acting in ways outside the law and community norms of appropriate behaviour, while wrong, carried no consequences: 'the police can do nothing to me'. Although several studies have revealed that even quite young children perceive authority to have limits (Damon, 1977; Turiel, 1983; Tisak & Turiel, 1984, Piaget, 1932), such reference to police authority is rare.

It might well be that the understandings of 'macro' processes vary between children. Bronfenbrenner (1979:27) suggested that:

> Growing persons acquire a more extended, differentiated, and valid conception of the ecological environment, and become motivated and able to engage in activities that reveal the properties of, sustain, or restructure the environment at levels of similar or greater complexity in form and context.

5.5.2 Crime, victimisation and police contact

A high proportion of the sample has been subjected to victimisation and/or had taken part in delinquent acts. There is also a significant overlap between those who reported being victimised and those who offended. This cannot be read separately from the reality of urban enclaves and macro-level processes. These structures tie Hackney to a larger social order that creates urban areas with similar social inequalities.

It is important to revisit the aim of SSPs. The reason for launching the SSPs scheme in 2002 was to help reduce crime (mainly violent crime) and antisocial behaviour in and around schools. Thirty-eight per cent of the sample reported offending. This is a high rate; it does not specify the domain of offending (school or neighbourhood), and it needs to be seen in historical, legislative and practical context. For instance, the number of recorded crimes involving a firearm doubled between 1998-99 and 2005-06, as did the number of 15-17 year olds convicted of carrying a knife in public (NAO[34], 2008). However it is difficult to accurately assess the actual levels of knife carrying due to changing legislation and police discretion in recording such crimes (Eades, 2006).

As predicted, and consistent with the literature, offending had an impact on general views of the police in school. However, its contribution in explaining the model diminished when the social capital indicators were added. This supports the idea that the roles of police in school are novel and differ from the roles they perform in the neighbourhood, which are more likely to be understood within the developmental framework of social cognition. Victimisation was not a statistically significant variable associated with attitudes toward the police.

Direct contact with school police had no impact on the general police evaluation. This is consistent with the literature, which suggests that direct contacts with the police do not translate to favourable attitudes since they may be seen as atypical behaviour (Leiber *et al.,* 1998). Analysis by type of contact showed that a high proportion of pupils initiate contact with the police in school, seeing them as potential sources of support.

Indirect contact was associated with more negative evaluations of the police in the neighbourhood. However, this association was not statistically significant in the binary logistic model, and since the study is cross-sectional, it is impossible to determine whether contact with the police preceded attitudes toward them or vice versa.

5.5.3 Social capital

Attributes of friendship correlated with a strong relationship between the 'respect' and 'power' dyad. This was not exclusive to boys; girls were also involved in this dynamic of respect-power. Perhaps feeling respected by others can alleviate the feeling of powerlessness; Anderson (1999)

[34] https://www.nao.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2008/02/0708241.pdf

argued that young Blacks from inner-city areas rely heavily on respect as a source of social capital since access to human, financial, or intellectual capital is perceived as blocked. Access to respect is necessary for one's wellbeing because it "... forms the core of the person's self-esteem, particularly when alternative avenues of self-expression are closed or sensed to be" (Anderson 1999: 66). The other dyad, belonging- support, has been further addressed in the support-network size measure. Respondents who reported that they had none to ask for advice were those who held the most negative (general) attitudes to the police, both in school and in the neighbourhood. This finds a theoretical grounding in the thesis linking societal alienation and compromised generalised trust (Putnam, 1993; Putnam, 2000).

The 'support network' variable was a significant variable contributing to positive evaluations of the police in school. It was also reflected in the analysis of the reasons for pupils' contact with the police in school, with more pupils approaching the police (e.g. one in four asking for advice) rather than being approached by the police. This finding suggests that police in school serve in a role that delivers pastoral care. It echoes the NFER study that suggested that the role of school police is to support improvements in young people's quality of life (Lamont *et al.*, 2011). I propose that social capital in the form of a support network ameliorates attitudes toward the police. Perhaps trust, norms and values cultivated in social structures and experienced in networks can be extrapolated to other social structures (Hirschi, 1969) such as the police in school.

Asian, Black African and Other pupils' friendship networks are more likely to be based on immediate family. Once ethnicity is held constant, having an immediate-family-based network is a statistically significant correlate of positive general attitudes toward school police. Discussions about the police take place within the immediate family and impact the formation of attitudes toward them. This social learning occurs within the family, as part of the legal socialisation process.

Ethnicity and ethnic networks

The network-based ethnicity variable was not associated with the general evaluation of the school police. Findings showed that 18 of the 65 Africans who answered the victimisation question had been insulted by racist comments, at a higher rate than the 8 of the 53 Caribbean respondents who had been. The fact that respondents acknowledged their race or ethnicity as a source of their victimisation suggests they reached the stage of achieved self-categorization in

the process of ethnic-racial identity formation. Research shows that matters related to one's ethnicity have appeared to be far more salient for ethnic minority adolescents than for those of the ethnic majority (Branch, Tayal & Triplett, 2000). Kroger (2007) offers an explanation:

> Being a member of a particular ethnic group holds important identity implications. Young children are certainly aware of differences in ethnicity and culture. But it is during adolescence, with capacities for reflecting on the past and the future, that one may develop a greater interest in one's own ethnic background, as it is during adolescence that one may have wider experiences within multicultural groups and experience ethnic discrimination (Kroger, 2007:126-7).

Exposure to legal cynicism is likely to elucidate attitudinal processes related to young inner city Blacks (Carr, Napolitano & Keating, 2007; Gau & Brunson, 2010; Kirk & Matsuda 2011; Kirk & Papachristos, 2011). This comes along with adolescents' growing awareness of stereotypes and negative appraisals of their cultural group by society at large (Spenser & Dornbusch, 1990) at the crucial time of identity development.

The difference in attitudes between people of Black African ethnic origin and all other ethnicities in this research calls for attention. Logistic regression shows that after controlling for demographics and social capital variables, Black African ethnic origin became significantly associated with negative attitudes toward the police in school. The anomaly of Black African origin (the broad census category) rather than ethnic network can be explained by (1) the fact of being a visible minority with a recent associated adversarial police-minority history (Black African pupils in the sample tend to be migrants and 1st generation whereas Caribbeans tend to be 2nd generation); (2) having the school police involved in disciplinary issues may have greater implications for those young people because their parents may become involved (possibly fear and respect for parents are more prominent among those of African background); (3) young Blacks are more likely than their non-Black friends to come from single-parent families (House of Commons, Select Committee on Home Affairs, 2007) of low income (or concentrated disadvantage), where general trust and respect for authority and resulting social bonds are perhaps more challenged; (4) when this research took place, there were no Black officers assigned to the participating schools. Seeing White police officers in schools may exacerbate negative views of the police held by Black respondents, reaffirming ideas about their relative status in society; (5) previous research had found age variability across ethnicities in predicting

attitudes to the police. This raises the question whether the development of ethnic identity-formation varies across backgrounds.

Migrants' better general attitudes toward the police in school

Immigrants and respondents who spoke a foreign language with their friends were more positive toward the police in school than their counterparts. There is additional empirical support for this. Drawing on data from the CSEW finding that migrants hold more positive attitudes to the police, Bradford *et al* (2015) found variation by time since arrival and experience of policing. Relatedly, Tankebe and Kautt (2011) found that those with greater social stability were in less vulnerable positions and seem more critical of the CJS and vice versa.

Possible explanations for more favourable attitudes include: (1) Migrants are less likely to be engaged in offending, to be excluded from school or to have a negative interaction with the police; (2) migrants' social networks are more homogenous, which possibly contributes to a greater uniformity in attitudes; (3) judgments are more likely to be free of knowledge, which means they do not make the connection between individual police in school and the police in general as unfair or racist, as others may; (4) the police in the UK may treat them better than the police in their country of origin did (e.g. the Turkish-Kurdish respondents); 5) school as a social institution promotes attachment to conventional society and has the potential to enhance integration. This is reinforced by repeated exposure to the police in school, who are acting and perceived as socialisation agents; and (6) friction between minorities and the police is likely to occur on the presumption of status and either concrete or symbolic power differentiation. Group membership plays an important role in these scenarios. It is possible that group membership for those in more socially- vulnerable situations is not as salient as that of their counterparts. Findings show that Turkish and Kurdish respondents were least likely of all respondents to attend religious services (see table 5.13), which may be indicative of relinquishing their religious identity. Therefore contact with the police would not place them in symbolically adversarial positions because, although the group to which they belong is of low social status, it is not salient to their identity or self-concept. When categories are not made salient in contact, the risk of escalation and reinforcing perceptions of group difference and status differentiation decreases. (Ramirez & Soriano, 1993).

5.5.4 Understanding police as an institution and developmental trajectories

The shift from unreflective to reflective use of social representations is a developmental achievement: the ability to (1) recognise a conflict between what one experienced with the police and what one's social contexts teach about the police; and (2) to negotiate a meaning (in which the self is still protected) are developments that comes with age (Psaltic, 2010). Another aspect of legal development, according to Tapp (1976), is the reduced personalisation of authority figures and their functions that occurs with the development of knowledge.

The development of knowledge about the social environment is the development of knowledge about the kind of thing the environment might do to ('inflict onto') the self (Elmer *et al.*, 1990). Social and material hazards, exemplified in participants referring to Hackney being dangerous or in perceiving the police negatively, are both based on gradually acquired knowledge.

For some respondents, understanding the police's role in school perhaps follows the path of naïve understanding. Thus, knowledge-free judgment can explain more positive police assessments by survey participants who are migrants, for instance (although positive prior experience of the police elsewhere can also explain their positive assessments). Their evaluation is free of prejudice, and as such they draw on different sources of information (whether heuristic or experience-based knowledge). For them, the police have not yet been reified, as may be the case for other participants. In the focus group discussions, I detected ambiguity and misunderstanding between the police as individuals and what they represent as an institution. Elmer *et al.* (in Duveen & Lloyd, 1990:48) claim, "The child's progress toward the adult psychological state can be indexed by the extent to which the child also interprets these matters 'correctly' i.e. like adults" (or members of their family). This finds support in the available literature, suggesting that improvement in young people's attitudes to the police in one domain does not result in improvement in another (Hinds, 2009; Hopkins *et al.*, 1992; Norman, 2009).

Ambiguity and misunderstanding of the police in school (versus in the neighbourhood) could be understood also by the fact that their roles and their presence are inconstant. There is high variability in police responsibilities across schools, which can lead to different interpretations by the pupils. All the same, there was no statistically significant difference in general attitudes to the police across the sample schools.

5.6 Chapter summary

In the previous chapter, I detailed the background and highlighted the work of social processes and mechanisms crucial to understanding Hackney's ethnic communities and their relationships with police, as experienced by community leaders and police. This chapter moved to individual-level explanations by trying to understand which factors explain young people's general and specific attitudes to the police in Hackney secondary schools and neighbourhoods (research question 6). Children's attitudes to the police in the neighbourhood were more negative than adults' (as reported by the BCS) and more negative than attitudes toward the police in school. A large proportion of the sample felt unsafe in the neighbourhood, feared being bullied, and engaged in unstructured activities. Being a migrant, embedded in an immediate family-based network and having a large support group increased the odds of warmer regard for the police. Being of Black African origin, engaged in offending and feeling the neighbourhood as less safe increased the odds of generally negative attitudes toward the police in school. The 3rd model explained 1/3 in of the views (Nagelkerke $R^2 = .346$). It is expected that in different settings other variables would be influential.

Adolescence brings to the fore processes of social identity formation, by which individuals endeavour to define their identities and seek status-relevant information from group membership. Seeing one's community in the centre of different discourses with a negative tag (e.g. over-representation in CJS) or feeling targeted by representations that link blackness and criminality (cf. Howarth, 2002; Hall, 1996) can lead to a heightened awareness of how one is perceived by others (and of 'otherness') and therefore increased self-reflexivity especially at the critical age of identity-formation. While Black (African and Caribbean) respondents were more aware of identity-related messages than other survey participants and used relationships with the police as the conveyor of 'us *vs.* them' messages, others did not draw on these types of representations when describing the police, perhaps because they do not hold them.

This chapter has elaborated on the 'social capital' construct. Findings suggest that young people who are located within a support network maintain more positive attitudes toward the police. This may be mediated by a lower risk of social alienation and/or engagement in delinquency. Respondents approached the school police officers, tagging them as a resource. This draws attention to the pastoral care role played by the school police.

This chapter began by unravelling ways to answer the question of how children come to understand the police. Throughout it, I emphasised the context-specific nature of perceptions but was also able to elucidate some generalities. In the next chapter, I will explore the association between pupils' specific and general attitudes to the police placed in their schools, while keeping in mind what informs young people's specific opinions of the police. I will also attempt to disentangle police legitimacy as viewed by young audiences. Although a longitudinal study would better capture developmental trajectories in explaining attitudes toward the police, the chapter is constrained to explore age differences within the boundaries of cross-sectional survey data.

6. STUDENT VOICES: SPECIFIC ATTITUDES TO THE POLICE IN SCHOOLS

In the previous chapter, pupils' general attitudes to school police and neighbourhood police were based on one question per domain. In this chapter, I explore specific attitudes on the basis of eleven attitudinal items. By piecing together both dimensions (i.e. general and specific), and by aggregating responses from four Hackney secondary schools, my goals are (1) to provide a more complete picture of young peoples' attitudes toward the police and their relationships with them; and (2) to test the research question that general attitudes, held by ethnic groups, inform specific attitudes, which can ultimately render the context of contact less important. The eleven-attitudinal items aim to reveal pupils' ideas of police performance, fairness of treatment and willingness to cooperate and comply with the police. The chapter draws primarily on questionnaire data but also on impressions collected from the school-administered surveys and focus group discussions with Hackney school pupils.

In accounting for specific attitudes to the police in school, I consider the following groups of variables: socio-demographic characteristics (including ethnicity), association with crime, contact satisfaction, and social capital. Complementary data collected via observations, shadowing, and interviews with police and school officials are interwoven into the discussion.

6.1 Findings: From general to specific attitudes

The attitudes scale used in this research comprises 11 items, and the general attitude measures relate to these components. While the items chosen for the School Survey do not span the entire breadth of the research field, they represent the research topics applicable to young people. Table 6.1 presents the percentage response distributions.

Table 6.1 Specific attitudes: Response distributions (%)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Mean	SD	N
I would report a crime occurring in school (such as a phone getting stolen) to the school officers.	*19.4*	*50.0*	*24.1*	*6.5*	2.2	.8	294
The school officers are successful in keeping students safe.	*15.4*	*49.8*	*30.0*	*4.8*	2.2	.8	293
The school officers treat girls and boys equally.	*27.4*	*59.9*	*11.8*	*0.9*	1.9	.6	212
I trust the school officers to help students if they have been victims of crime.	*27.5*	*52.0*	*17.8*	*2.7*	2.0	.7	299
The school officers deal with issues efficiently.	*16.9*	*59.9*	*20.1*	*3.1*	2.1	.7	284
I would report a classmate being bullied to the school officers.	*15.1*	*40.8*	*37.0*	*7.2*	2.4	.8	292
I should do what the school police officers tell me to do even when I don't like what they tell me.	*19.5*	*44.6*	*27.5*	*8.4*	2.3	.9	287
The school officers treat White, Black, Asian or any other students the same way.	*34.6*	*50.0*	*11.9*	*3.5*	1.8	.8	286
I would report a classmate carrying a knife to the school officers.	*30.8*	*36.0*	*26.9*	*6.3*	2.1	.9	286
I trust the school police officers to handle sensitive information with discretion.	*20.4*	*57.8*	*16.6*	*5.2*	2.1	.8	289
The school officers treat students with respect.	*22.2*	*56.0*	*19.8*	*2.0*	2.0	.7	293

Lower numbers = more likely to agree; higher numbers = less likely to agree.

A principal component analysis (PCA) was conducted on the 11 attitude items, with orthogonal (varimax) rotation to reveal underling constructs. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified sample adequacy for the analysis, KMO = 0.858, and all KMOs for individual items were above the acceptable limit of .5 (Field, 2009). Bartlett's Test of Sphericity [X^2 (55) = 743.94, p<0.001] indicated that the correlations between items were sufficiently large for PCA. An initial analysis was run to obtain eigenvalues for the components in the data. Three components had eigenvalues over Kaiser's criterion of 1 and together explained 64 per cent of the variance.

The items that clustered on the same components suggest that component 1 represents police performance, component 2 represents cooperation with the police, and component 3 represents fairness of treatment (see Table 6.2). Unexpectedly, an obligation to obey the school police did not load on the co-operation factor. The table of eigenvalues shows that the first one accounts for 43.4 per cent of the variance, and the second accounts for 10.4 per cent of the variance. The third eigenvalue explains 10.2 per cent of the variance, while the contributions from the remaining eigenvalues are negligible. Reliability tests to check for internal consistency were run for items loading on each factor and scale. Table 6.2 presents attitudes scale and sub-scales reliability scores (Cronbach's Alpha coefficient).

Table 6.2 Scale and sub-scale reliability

		α	**$\bar{x}$**	**SD**
Performance	• The school officers are successful in keeping students safe. • I trust the school officers to help students if they have been victims of crime. • The school officers deal with issues efficiently. • I trust the school officers to handle sensitive information with discretion.	0.8	2.1	0.73
Fairness of treatment	• The school officers treat girls and boys equally (returns from Skinners' Academy were omitted) • The school officers treat White, Black, Asian, or any other students the same way. • The School officers treat students with respect.	0.74	1.9	0.7
Co-operation	• I would report a crime occurring in school (such as a phone getting stolen) to the school officers. • I would report a classmate being bullied to the school officers. • I would report a classmate carrying a knife to the school officers.	0.73	2.2	0.8
Obligation	• I should do what the school police officers tell me to do even when I don't like what they tell me.	—	2.3	0.9
All items		0.87	2.07	0.77

The dimensions that comprise this construct include intention to co-operate, police fairness, and police performance—concepts adopted from Tyler's (1990, 2004) theoretical framework for procedural justice.

Fairness of treatment items received the highest scores (i.e. a high level of agreement); cooperation items and obligation to obey received the lowest scores (i.e. a low level of agreement). That means respondents agreed more with statements that the police were treating them well and without discrimination than with statements that they would cooperate or do

what police asked them to do. Items related to trust ("I trust the school officers to help students if they have been victims of crime" and "I trust the school officers to handle sensitive information with discretion") loaded on the performance component. In the eyes of the young respondents, these questions simply referred to police fulfilling their role. Table 6.3 presents scale and sub-scales factors' statistics.

Table 6.3 Scale factors by ethnicity

	Performance		**Cooperation**		**Obey**		**Fair treatment**		**All Items**	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Caribbean	2.23	.51	2.33	.69	2.41	.89	2.02	.45	2.21	.49
African	2.07	.68	2.24	.76	2.40	.87	1.95	.71	2.11	.68
Asian	2.04	.45	2.10	.58	2.18	.88	1.88	.56	2.05	.42
White	2.01	.58	2.16	.65	2.13	.85	1.87	.54	2.02	.51
Other	2.00	.45	2.17	.42	2.08	.51	1.77	.50	2.00	.34
Turkish	1.97	.63	1.97	.67	1.92	.81	1.83	.73	1.93	.55

Source: School Survey. Lower numbers = more positive view.

First, the specific attitudes scale mean was correlated with general attitude to police in school mean, as shown below in Table 6.4. Biserial correlation was performed since one variable is quantitative and the other is binary (general attitudes measured as positive or negative). Biserial $rb = 0.458 \sqrt{}\ (0.552*0.448) / 0.3956 = 0.458*0.497/0.3956 = 0.575$. For calculating the Biserial *rb* I used the following formula [35] (Field, 2005):

$$rb = \frac{r_{bp}\sqrt{(P_1P_2)}}{y}$$

General attitude to police in school (i.e. the single question addressed in Chapter 5) is significantly related to specific attitudes to police in school.

Second, GAS was correlated with the police performance factor, as shown below in Table 6.4. Biserial $rb = 0.467\sqrt{}\ (0.552*0.448) / 0.3956 = 0.467*0.497/0.3956 = 0.59$. This indicated that

[35] P_1 is the proportion of cases that fell into category 1; P_2 is the proportion of cases that fell into category 2. Y is the ordinate of the normal distribution at the point where there is P_1% of the area in one side and P_2% on the other (Field, 2005:133).

the general evaluation of police in school is significantly related to the evaluation of police performance in school.

Table 6.4 From general to specific attitudes

	SAM*	Performance factor	Fairness of treatment factor	Cooperation factor	Obey the police item
GAS**	$r = 0.57$	$r = 0.59$	$r = 0.41$	$r = 0.40$	$\gamma = 0.37$

Source: School Survey. SAM*: Specific attitudes' mean score, GAS**: General Attitudes School Police

Third, GAS was correlated with the police fairness of treatment factor, as shown in Table 6.4. Biserial $rb = 0.330\sqrt{}$ (0.552*0.448) / 0.3956 = 0.330*0.497/0.3956 = 0.41. The general evaluation of police in school is significantly related to fairness of treatment.

Fourth, GAS was correlated with the intention to cooperate factor, as shown in Table 6.4. Biserial $rb = 0.322\sqrt{}$ (0.552*0.448) / 0.3956 = 0.322*0.497/0.3956 = 0.40. General evaluation of police in school is significantly related to intention to cooperate.

Finally, the "I should do what school police officers tell me to do even when I don't like what they tell me" item taps in to compliance. Gamma is 0.367 and represents a positive weak-to-moderate relationship between students' compliance and general attitudes to police in school (GAS).

The strongest relationship appeared between the performance factor and GAS, while the weakest relationship is between fairness of treatment and cooperation factors and GAS. In sum, the results above show a moderate relationship between GAS and specific attitudes (mean of 11 items). The strongest relationship is between general attitude of the police in school and evaluation of their performance.

Table 6.5 Specific attitudes to the police in school, bivariate measures

Blocks	Variable	Test Value	*p*
Demographics			
	Age	r=.302	.000
	Gender	t=.839	.402
	SES/FSM	t=2.276	.024
	Generational status	F=3.319	.038
	Ethnicity	F=1.693	.162
	Schools	F=.396	.756
Crime and police contact			
	Contact type*	F=1.88	.132
	Contact satisfaction	F=7.36	.001
	Safety in school	t=-3.72	.000
	Victimisation	r=-.094	.111
	Offending	r=.287	.000
Network			
	Immediate family	t=3.28	.001
	Ethnic background	t=2.393	.017
	Support network	r=-.166	.007

Source: School Survey. * Contact type: No-No/No-Yes/Yes-No/Yes –Yes

OLS regression was performed to determine which variables contributed to specific attitudes toward the police. Most of the variables in the binary logistic regression model performed in the previous chapter to assess the general evaluation of police in school were included in the OLS regression model to assess specific attitudes, with a few alterations. Neighbourhood safety was omitted from the model since it was arguably less relevant for the current investigation. The type of contact (direct/indirect) was replaced by contact satisfaction. The fact that many of the pupils had had contact with the police makes the 'satisfaction' item highly relevant. The dummy variable, the reference category, was 'no contact' (satisfied/no contact, unsatisfied/no contact). All other variables remained the same.

Table 6.6 OLS regression: Specific attitudes to the police in school

Model number		**I**			**II**			**III**	
	B	*s.e.*	*Std B*	B	*s.e.*	*Std B*	B	*s.e.*	*Std B*
Controls									
Age	.039	.019	.155*	.046	.017	.183**	.048	.016	.189**
Male	-.080	.081	-.083	-.142	.073	-.147*	-.093	.071	-.097
SES/FSM	-.178	.074	-.184*	-.179	.066	-.185**	-.151	.063	-.156*
Immigrant[1]	-.045	.090	-.043	-.007	.079	-.007	-.034	.077	-.033
First generation[1]	.150	.093	.148	.083	.083	.081	.031	.080	.030
Turkish[2]	-.118	.138	-.076	-.016	.123	-.010	.031	.118	.020
Asian[2]	-.109	.113	-.085	-.069	.101	-.054	-.039	.099	-.030
African[2]	.055	.105	.051	.025	.093	.023	.060	.089	.055
Caribbean[2]	.165	.097	.144	.114	.086	.100	.104	.082	.091
Other[2]	-.025	.187	-.010	-.057	.166	-.022	-.043	.158	-.017
School – CP[3]	-.037	.115	-.037	.026	.103	.026	.125	.102	.124
School – Skinners'[3]	-.060	.129	-.060	-.042	.115	-.042	.095	.114	.095
School – Stoke[3]	-.088	.119	-.083	.008	.105	.008	.019	.101	.018
Crime and Police Contact									
Satisfactory contact				-.011	.069	-.010	.010	.066	.009
Unsatisfactory contact				.671	.174	.245***	.690	.166	.252***
Not safe in school				.372	.078	.303***	.338	.074	.276***
Victimisation				-.053	.018	-.200**	-.047	.017	-.178**
Offending				.096	.024	.266***	.086	.024	.238***

Networks							
Friends from immediate family					-.144	.060	-.145*
Friends from same ethnic background					-.139	.059	-.148*
Support network					-.057	.024	-.152*
CONSTANT	1.670	.306	1.461	.274	1.555	.264	
R^2	.140		.353		. 422		

R^2=.140 for step1; AR^2 = .213 for step 2; AR^2 = .069 for step 3; N = 200 over 2.5 s.d outliers were removed from the analysis in two steps (c;43,161,206,154&203). *p<.05 ** p<.01 ***p<.001 Dependent variable is the mean of 'all attitudes'

6.2 Findings: Determinants of specific attitudes

Model 1 shows that the association of specific attitudes with 'age' and 'free-school-meal' ($p<0.05$) are statistically significant.

Model 2 includes demographic variables and association with crime indicators. Age and 'free-school-meal' remained significant and gender became significant. Female respondents were more negative in their attitudes toward the police than males.

Crime and police contact indicators are all significant except satisfactory rated contact indicator. Victimisation is related to more positive attitudes to the police ($p<0.01$). Offending is associated with negative attitudes to the police ($p<0.001$). 'Not safe in school' is associated with negative attitudes to the police ($p<0.001$). Unsatisfactory contact is associated with negative attitudes to the police ($p<0.001$). Victimisation is associated with positive attitudes. This model explains 34 per cent of the variance ($R^2 = .35$).

Model 3 includes the demographic variables introduced in model 1, the contact, crime and victimisation variables introduced in Model 2, and social capital variables. Age remains statistically significant ($p<0.01$), as does 'free-school-meal' eligibility ($p<0.05$). Contact and association with crime variables remain significant. The following social capital indicators are significant and associated with positive attitudes: network size ($p<0.05$); ethnicity-based social network ($p<0.05$); and immediate-family network ($p<0.05$). This model explains 42 per cent of the variance ($R^2 = .422$).

For calculating adjusted R^2 I used the following formula:

$$R^2_{adj} = 1 - \left[\frac{(1 - R^2)(n-1)}{n-k-1} \right]$$

Adjusted R^2=.39. This estimate informs us how well the model cross-validates for generalizability purpose.

6.2.1 Socio-demographic characteristics

Hypothesis 1: ***Specific attitudes toward the school police will differ by age***

Older participants maintain more negative attitudes toward the police than younger participants. This holds true throughout the two last models, although it is inconsistent with findings related to general attitudes, in which age did not have a statistically significant relationship with attitudes to school police. Younger participants are more likely to be satisfied with police contact, which can be explained by the offending-age association. There were 31,458 children (aged 10-14) who comprised 29 per cent supervised by the YOTs in 2009/10; 71 per cent were older (15-17) (Youth Justice Board, 2012).

Hypothesis 2: ***Specific attitudes toward police in school will differ by gender***

After controlling for contact and association with crime, gender becomes statistically significant in predicting attitudes. That is, female respondents held more negative views toward the police in school, although this no longer holds true after the introduction of the 'social capital' block of variables. The finding can be explained by the fact the females are more often than not the recipients of secondary contacts with the police, which produce more negative attitudes than direct contacts. Females in the sample are less likely to offend than males ($t=-3.01$, $p<.001$). This is in accordance with YOT statistics, which report that males accounted for 78 per cent of the young people supervised by YOTs in 2010/2011 (Youth Justice Board, 2012). It is important to note that only one female police officer was assigned to the participating schools; she was of White origin.

The head teacher of one of the participating schools pointed to a core group of girls who misbehaved and were disruptive to school proceedings, teachers and other pupils. Parents had been asked to come to school to discuss their daughters' behaviour, and a letter from the head teacher to those parents, including a summary of the meetings, can be found in Appendix 8. The head teacher believed that the girls were involved in gang activities and were mimicking male gang members. He also held that girls were involved in gang activity for the same reason as boys, namely the status and reputation it conferred.

Hypothesis 3: ***Specific attitudes toward the school police will differ by receipt of free meals***

Eligibility for free school meals, based on assessment of parental income, is a measure of organised support provided by educational authorities used in social statistics to indicate parental socio-economic status. In the present study, this variable was treated as a marker of institutionalised support. Children who are second-generation and/or of White ethnicity are less likely to receive free school meals than other respondents. Younger participants in the survey are more likely to receive free meals ($t = 5.006$, $p < .0001$).

Receiving free school meals was significantly correlated with positive specific attitudes to the police in school throughout the three models. ([β =.-185 $p<0.05$ (model I), β = .-185 $p<0.05$ (model II) and β =.-156 $p<0.05$ (model III)]. This trend was not observed in the models presented in the previous chapter, which predict general attitudes to the police in school. It is important to note, however, that a declaration of receiving free meals might not be a reliable measure. Some pupils showed apprehension when answering this question and asked whether their answers would be revealed to school authorities.

Hypothesis 4: ***Specific attitudes toward the school police will differ by generation***

One-way ANOVA findings suggest that some conditions are significantly different between generations of migrants. First-generation pupils hold significantly more negative views than second-generation pupils and than new immigrants who hold the most positive views of the police in school ($F = 3.319$, $p<.05$). However, when entered in the OLS model and with controls for other demographic characteristics and in later stages for contact and association with crime and social capital indicators, no statistically significant associations for generational status were found. BLR findings suggest that migrants hold significantly more positive general views than their counterparts (see Chapter 5).

Hypothesis 5: ***Attitudes toward the school police will differ by ethnicity***

One-way ANOVA findings suggest an effect of ethnicity, albeit statistically non-significant, on specific attitudes toward the police in school. Caribbean respondents hold the most negative attitudes to the police. People who reported 'Turkish/Kurdish' as their ethnicity hold the most positive attitudes. Pupils of African background are more likely to be new immigrants and first-generation (i.e. children of immigrants). Pupils of Turkish and Asian background are more

likely to be new immigrants, and first-generation and pupils of White and Caribbean background are more likely to be second-generation (see Chapter 5). However, an OLS regression finding shows no significant findings related to ethnicity.

A one-way ANOVA was run for all three factors (cooperation, performance and treatment, derived by PCA on 11 attitudinal items), and obligation by ethnicity, to establish the attitudinal differences between ethnic groups on certain issues. None of the tests was statistically significant. The cooperation factor was the closest to significance of all three factors, with pupils of Caribbean background as the most likely to rate the school police negatively on the three factors. These findings suggest that differences in participants' views do not stem merely from their prescribed ethnicity.

6.2.2 Contact with the police

Familiarity and frequency of seeing police in school

The research question 'How does the frequency of students seeing school police affect attitudes toward the police?' has the potential to shed light on the reassurance capacity of the police in school and whether it has a real impact on attitudes. A one-way ANOVA was performed for the effect of frequency of seeing the police in school and specific attitudes toward them ($F = .749$, $p > .05$). Although non-significant, the results suggest that a moderate amount of sighting is linked with more positive views, whereas too much sighting of police is linked with more negative views. Table 6.7 presents the distribution of specific attitudes (all attitudes mean) by frequency of police sightings in school.

Table 6.7 Specific attitudes toward the police by sighting frequency

Frequency of police sighting	N	Mean	SD
At least daily	67	2.15	.59
At least weekly	95	2.03	.49
At least every two weeks	38	2.11	.54
At least monthly	37	2.16	.43
Less often than once a month	36	2.14	.51
Never	26	2.00	.54

Source: School Survey.

The focus group excerpt below discusses familiarity of the school police:

M: Do you know the police officer in your school?
S1: Police officer.
S1: I don't know their name but I call them 'Snoop Dog'.
M: Snoop Dog?
S1: Yeah. Snoop Dog: Peter Crouch.
M: Do you see him very often here?
S2: Yeah.
M: Yeah. And what do you think about his presence here?
S2: He's annoying. Somehow he knows my name.
I don't know how but he knows my name.
M: Why do you think he knows your name?
S2: I don't know. 'Cause people tell him my name. I don't like, I don't like them.
(Year 10, 25 March 2008)

The type of contact, i.e. direct and indirect contact (through friends) was explored, too. The measure reflects four conditions: pupil did not have contact/friend did not have contact (no-no), pupil did not have contact/ friend had contact (no-yes), pupil had contact/ friend did not have contact (yes-no), pupil had contact/ friend had contact (yes-yes). Table 6.8 presents the distribution of specific attitudes (all attitudes mean) by contact type.

Table 6.8 Specific attitudes toward the police by contact types

	N	Mean	SD
No-no	150	2.06	.47
No-yes	26	2.32	.54
Yes-no	52	2.12	.57
Yes-yes	40	2.09	.58
Total	268	2.10	.51

Source: School Survey.

Although the test was not significant, the trend is in line with the previous chapter's findings and the literature indicating that indirect contact intensifies negative attitudes. It was important to determine whether schools significantly differ in police presence. Cross-tabulation between schools and frequency of seeing the police in school reveals no relationship ($\gamma = .06$). OLS results confirm no attitudinal difference between schools.

Hypothesis 7: ***Attitudes toward school police will vary among participants depending on level of satisfaction from contact.***

The majority of those who had previous contact with police in school reported satisfaction. However, satisfactory contact had no significant relationship with attitudes. Unsatisfactory

contact was the strongest correlate of specific negative attitudes to the police in school [β = .245 p <0.001 (model II) and β = .252 p <0.001 (model III)].

Hypothesis 8: ***Attitudes toward school police will vary among participants, depending on whether or not they had been victims of crime.***

One hundred and fifty-seven pupils had been victimised once or more. Victimisation has a significant relationship with offending discussed in Chapter 5, as well as with greater satisfaction with police contact (F=3.265, p <.05). In the OLS model, specific attitudes to the police in school and victimisation correlated with more positive attitudes to the police [β = -.200 p <0.01 (model II); β = -.178 p <0.01 (model III)], unlike general attitudes in which victimisation was not a significant correlate.

Hypothesis 9: ***Attitudes toward school police will vary among participants depending on whether or not they had committed an offence.***

The bivariate test confirms a relationship between offending and specific attitudes to the police in school. In the model predicting specific attitudes to the police in school, offending correlated with more negative attitudes to the police [β = .266, p <0.001 (model II); β = .238, p <0.001 (model III)]. Offending was a significant correlate of general attitudes of the police. This is widely supported by the literature. There was no relationship between offending and generational status and offending and SES/FSM.

Hypothesis 10***: Specific attitudes toward school police will vary among participants depending on whether or not they feel safe in school.***

OLS regression reveals that those who do not feel safe in school are more likely to have negative attitudes toward the police in school: β =.303 p<0.001 (model II); β =.276 p<0.001 (model III). It is interesting to note that the β for safety is higher than that of those who offended. That is, feeling unsafe has a stronger association with specific attitudes than offending does (although these two variables may be confounded). This might be specific to Hackney and its crime situation; if a wider range of data across all of London was collected, it may not show the same trend.

6.2.3 Social capital

Structural characteristics of networks, such as type and size, were explored in the form of ethnic, family and support networks, to establish the connection between social capital and specific attitudes to the police. A positive relationship with the police can indicate heightened trust – a desirable outcome of social capital.

Hypothesis 11: ***Specific attitudes toward school police will vary among participants depending on the type of network with which they are associated.***

An OLS regression reveals that having close friends from the immediate family was associated with better specific attitudes toward the police in school, after controlling for contact with the police (and general evaluation of the police in school) and association with crime [β = -.145, p <0.05]. There is a non-significant relationship between networks based on family and ethnicity.

Hypothesis 12: ***Specific attitudes toward school police will differ by membership of ethnic networks.***

Having close friends from the same ethnic background was significantly associated with more positive attitudes to the police in school [β = -.148, p<0.05]. Asian and Turkish pupils are more likely to be embedded in their ethnic network (i.e. a homogenous network), in contrast with pupils of White and/or second-generation backgrounds (i.e. a heterogeneous network). An ethnic network is correlated with a network of support (t =-2.331, p <.005).

Hypothesis 13: ***Specific attitudes toward school police will differ by the size of the support network.***

OLS regression findings suggest that the larger the support network, the better the informants' specific attitudes to the police in school [β = -.152, p<0.05].

6.3 Discussion

6.3.1 Specific attitudes

The OLS model explained 42 per cent of the variation in attitudes (adjusted R^2 = .39). The crime and 'contact with the police' items were significantly related to specific attitudes, continuing the same trend as observed with general attitudes (Chapter 5). The 'crime and contact variables' explained the majority of variation in attitudes toward the police, mainly negative attitudes.

Only a few of the 'demographic' variables had a relationship with specific attitudes, whereas all items in the 'social capital' block were significantly associated with specific attitudes.

Age/developmental stage

While age was not a significant correlate of 'general attitudes' (Chapter 5), it became one in the 'specific attitudes' models, and remained so after controlling for other variables. There are two points to address here. First, general attitudes are more positive; the more general the question, the more positive the responses (Gallagher *et al.*, 2001). Second, specific attitudes become more negative with age. Attitudes to authority steadily decline through adolescence but recover as adulthood approaches (cf. Levy, 2001; Emler & Reicher, 1987).

Adolescence is a critical period in the development of attitudes to law, crime, and the judicial system. On one hand, important changes in logical reasoning, cognitive abilities and the capacity for reflection enable adolescents to adopt ideological systems of beliefs and attitudes (Winnicott, 1971; Inhelder & Piaget, 1958). In addition, young people are likely to experience changes in their network structures and embeddedness in networks exerting influence over their members. Concurrently, "… during early adolescence, the dynamics of identity formation and the pursuit of autonomy may lead children to reject the normative orientation that animates the social control efforts of authority figures in their lives" (Fagan & Tyler, 2005:223). Also, young people are more likely to have contact with the police and to be processed though the justice system. This may explain the intersection between identity-formation and attitudes toward the police.

SES/FSM

Eligibility for free school meals correlates with positive specific attitudes to the police in school (but not with general attitudes). This was unexpected, since the criminological (mainly strain theory) literature focuses on structural (i.e. 'static') characteristics as determinates of negative relationships with and attitudes toward the police.

This finding draws attention to the social-support aspect of policing in school. It may well be that free school meals correlate with reduced or compromised parental supervision (as parents need to work in multiple low-income jobs), and perhaps the police provide access to a supportive figure. Age-Graded theory (Sampson & Laub, 1993) points in that direction, referring to the involvement of institutions of social control over time in people's lives and to the achievement of positive social outcomes despite structural adversity. While there is

empirical evidence of a link between reliance on state institutions by socially vulnerable people and their attitudes toward the Criminal Justice System (Kautt & Tankebe (2011), the theory is not well established.

Ethnicity and gender

Black pupils in the sample demonstrated greater legal cynicism than other ethnic groups, a theme that dominated the focus group discussions. In the model, however, while ethnicity was non-significant, it continued a pattern observed in the previous chapter of more negative attitudes held by Black African and Black Caribbean pupils.

Negative attitudes held by Caribbean females call for particular attention. The concept of cumulative discrimination or 'intersectionality', which refers to systematic processes occurring over time and across different domains (gender, race and class), is used as an analytical tool to see how double and triple subordinations (i.e. compounded influence) can shape identities and create social groups (Crenshaw, 1991). Intersectionality results in multiple marginalisations. In the developmental literature, there is evidence of older girls' greater awareness and more critical opinions than boys' about racism (Aboud, 1988; Hirschfeld, 1995; McGlothlin & Killen, 2005). There is gathering empirical evidence for gender/ethnicity differences in attitudinal studies. Hurst *et al.* (2005) found Black females to be generally more negative toward the police.

A further explanation is that Black females are more likely than other groups to be the recipients of second-hand accounts of the police, which can intensify negative views. The female officer assigned to the girls-only school was White, which perhaps sends a message about societal hierarchy. Females are more likely to be embedded in more homophilous networks, which create greater uniformity in attitudes. Maccoby (1998) presents evidence that boys are less homophilous in their racial choices than girls, probably because of the nature of boys' play in larger and less intimate groups (Rose & Rudolph, 2006), which can create less uniformity in attitudes.

Crime and police contact

Although the relationship between contact type and attitudes to the police in school was statistically non-significant, second-hand contact yielded the most negative attitudes to police in school, which is consistent with findings concerning general attitudes reported in the previous chapter.

As expected, offending was associated with negative attitudes and victimisation with positive attitudes. Offending peaks in adolescence (Moffitt, 1997; Agnew, 2003), suggesting that more negative interactions with the police during adolescence breed more negative views and reduce appreciation of the police. While differences in rates of offending by ethnicity and generation were statistically non-significant, they indicated that Black minorities and second-generation participants offended more than their counterparts.

Subject to a caveat that this is a cross-sectional study, the findings suggest support for the 'asymmetry of contact' theory (Skogan, 2006). Positive experiences (measured by level of satisfaction) with the police were associated with positive attitudes albeit non-significant, while negative experiences with the police were significantly associated with negative attitudes; these negative attitudes are expressed more strongly than positive attitudes (with statistically significant findings and a large *B*).

The findings draw attention to contextual characteristics, such as safety and police visibility, with respect to specific attitudes to school police. Feeling unsafe in school correlates with more negative attitudes to the police, in line with empirical evidence reviewed in Chapter 2. Sighting a police officer in school is an intriguing element, since its causal mechanism is not entirely clear. Both too frequent and too few police sightings relate to negative specific attitudes, whereas moderate frequencies correlate with more positive attitudes.

The findings suggest that contact satisfaction correlates with interpersonal relations (which is more likely to be the case with crime victims). It occurs through an exchange between the police and the pupil, and is interpreted at the inter-personal level. However, mistreatment is perhaps more likely to be interpreted in the context of inter-group relations (age-dependent, once the child has internalised a group position, i.e. achieved ethnic identity). In other words, the contact satisfaction measure exerts both a direct and an indirect effect on specific attitudes toward the police. This depends both on whether the interaction was tagged as positive or negative in the pupil's mind and also on the pupil's developmental/cognitive achievements (e.g. ability to abstract and draw links to the police in general).

A few caveats remain: this is a cross-sectional study and therefore interpretations are restricted. There is a need to distinguish between recurring (extended) interactions and one-off contact

and to be able to establish whether influence over time aids in embracing or rejecting the law, its representatives and its norms.

Social capital

There is a limited literature on social capital *per se* in relation to individuals' relationships with and attitudes to the police. Findings show that positive attitudes to the police in school are feasible, even when children live in ethnically diverse areas (which are often confounded with social deprivation and high crime levels). It is possible that trustworthiness cultivated within friendship networks can be extrapolated to other social structures, irrespective of contextual conditions.

Friendship characteristics

While 'support network' and 'immediate family-based network' were significant variables associated with general attitudes, the 'ethnic-based network' variable was not. All three variables constituting the 'social capital block' were significantly related to specific attitudes.

Homophily of networks is a basic organisational principle, and strong and substantive friendship networks are built around salient dimensions such as race and ethnic background. These relationships may be more likely to form in school. The literature on networks explores the importance of network structure in explaining social outcomes, suggested that homophily in race and ethnicity creates the strongest divides in our personal environments (McPherson *et al.* 2001). Shrum and colleagues (1988) suggest that changes in network structure occur along developmental lines, i.e. racial homophily increases during the early years and then levels out in secondary school. The 'balance theory' by Heider (1958), formulated to explain interpersonal relationships, is widely used in explaining people's shared opinions and attitudes about an object. It contends that people desire 'cognitive consistency', which permits a psychologically balanced state of affairs.

The Turkish and Asian friendship networks were the most homophilous in the sample; they yielded the most favourable views of the police in school. Like White respondents, Caribbean respondents were more likely to be in heterogeneous networks, which may be explained by the fact that they are among best-established communities in Hackney. Those in a more homophilous network benefited from a greater support network. Respondents located within more heterogeneous networks held more negative specific attitudes toward the police.

In explaining network structure, Ooka and Wellman (2001) observed a stronger tendency among less educated, first-generation respondents to be embedded in more homophilous networks. Low religiosity, immigrant and first-generation status and a first language other than English are characteristics common among young Turkish-Kurdish people. Since information-flows through networks tend to be localised — unsurprisingly — in denser networks, less variation and greater alignment in attitudes toward a referent (such as police) may be observed. The "homogenous friendship network is an ecological system while it induces closeness and enables communication between similar others, [nonetheless] it also… limits people's social worlds in a way that has powerful implications for the information they receive, the attitudes they form, and the interactions they experience" (McPherson *et al.*, 2001:415).

Thus, the homophilous ethnic network in this sample could function as a moderating factor associated with better attitudes to the police. In general, homophily breeds uniformity in attitudes (McPherson et al., 2001). It can produce more attitudinal consistency between members of the group in either a negative or positive direction.

The breakdown of the traditional two-parent family is seen in the sample, with only 60 per cent of pupils raised by both parents. Familial support and guidance may not always be available for them. Yet children appear to have a sense of their social networks as organising units that build support and provide a sense of belonging. Those placed in large support networks maintained positive attitudes toward the police in school, whereas those who had none to ask for advice held the most negative attitudes toward the police. This finds support in Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theoretical model, referring to a social setting's protective effects in the light of disadvantageous conditions. Bronfenbrenner contended, "the alienation of children and youth and its destructive developmental sequel are a meso-system phenomenon as they reflect a breakdown of the interconnections between the various segments of the child's life-family-school-peer group neighbourhood…" (p. 231).

The size of the support network has direct implications for the advancement of social capital, and Lee (2006) found that larger networks resulted in improved wellbeing, mediated by support. However, individuals need to recognise their networks as a resource for those networks to constitute social capital (Morrow, 1999). Support networks drawing on bonding ties are often valuable for marginalised members of society to come together in groups and networks for protection and support and, at times, even for survival.

Moreover, findings suggest that harnessing the police as a stable social agent could go a long way in helping disadvantaged young people capitalise on opportunities at the individual level (q.v. Howdon, 2008), as with mentoring programmes in school.[36] The lack of variability across schools is encouraging. It suggests that when schools are held constant (accounting for different makeup, school ethos, management etc.) police in school independently adds a positive dimension to pupils' experience in addition to teaching them how to access the police, which is another aspect of legal development (Levine & Tapp, 1977).

6.3.2 Specific attitudes: What are the underlying constructs?

From general to specific attitudes

The relationship between specific and general attitudes is not straightforward. Since this is a cross-sectional study, it is impossible to determine what predated what. However, Stanko and Bradford (2009) suggest that adults have an overall opinion of how effective the police are, which informs how specific questions are answered, but it is equally possible that the general orientation itself is informed by the answers to the individual components (Stanko & Bradford, 2009).

My findings suggest that performance was the factor that was the most strongly related to general attitudes to the police in school. Fairness of treatment and intentions to cooperate and obey the police were weakly related to general attitudes. While there is broad agreement among pupils that the police treat them fairly and with respect, this does not strongly correlate with positive general attitudes toward the police (except for victims) and challenges the common postulation regarding procedural justice and attitudes toward the police. Surprisingly, Hackney pupils are likely to base their evaluations of school police on instrumental assessments, i.e. if the police were effective and performing well they would be more highly regarded. This is not in accordance with the normative–expressive perspective that prioritises quality of treatment over performance (Tyler, 1990). It is more aligned with the recent conceptualisation of the constituents of legitimacy offered by Tankebe (2009, 2013), who contends that normative considerations underlie legitimacy, adding police effectiveness or performance to distributive

[36] Mentoring programmes are claimed to compensate for poor family support, to 'rescue' young people from the bad influence of the street and peer groups, and so assist young people to make a more successful transition to adulthood than otherwise.

fairness and procedural fairness (which are derived from the all-embracing concept of shared values and expectations).

Obligation to obey the police

School may be the first location in which children come into contact with the police – and have the obligation to obey them. While adults' perceived duty to obey the police might be a proxy for legitimacy, these findings indicate that it may be a less reliable measure where young people are concerned.

The survey findings show that an obligation to obey the school police (measured by agreement with the statement "I should do what the police officers tell me to do even when I don't like what they tell me") did not load on any of the other factors. These findings support Tankebe's (2013) idea that obligation is a stand-alone concept. Bottoms and Tankebe (2012) propose that expressions of obligation to obey the directives of legal authorities cannot necessarily be equated with legitimacy. Another distinction is that an obligation to obey the law is intentional – whereas law-abiding behaviour requires enacted compliance – and there is a known discrepancy between declared intention and actual behaviour (Ajzen *et al*., 2004).

For children, the idea of an authority's legitimacy (or justification for power) has not yet matured, whereas the recognition of power already exists. This is in line with Jackson *et al.* (2012), who separate recognition of from the justification for power while considering the underlying constructs of legitimacy.

In the context of the present study, the main driver of compliance may be the high cost of noncompliance, rather than the legitimate position of the police. Pupils of Black African and Black Caribbean backgrounds scored the lowest on the obligation item, i.e. they were not likely to agree with that "I should do what the police officer in school ask me to even when I don't like what they tell me". The focus group participant who had refused to stop when a PCSO asked him said he just laughed when asked to stop, knowing there is no consequence for his noncompliant behaviour; he recognised the limit to the PCSO's powers. His behaviour is possibly non-representative but nevertheless important to acknowledge:

> S: Someone, a guy, a community officer tried to stop me and I just laughed at him and he couldn't do nothing. I know that was bad but... (Year 10 pupil, 2008)

However, for members of other groups, such as Turkish-Kurdish pupils (who expressed the highest level of willingness to obey the police), compliant behaviour can be understood as rooted in their cultural backgrounds and their communities' processes of informal social control. It may be useful, therefore, to redefine or re-operationalise this item as a proxy for views about the binding nature of the law and norms, rather than attitudes to the police.

Research suggests that legal actors may play a role in socialisation processes, leading to compliance with or rejection of legal and social norms (Fagan & Tyler, 2005). However, there are other institutions that teach young people about compliance, since legal norms are encoded within multiple social institutions such as family, school and community. While research in developmental psychology suggests that children do not recognise the formal element in role relations until later in childhood (Adelson, 1971; Kohlberg, 1976) since it is a cognitively complex notion, compliant behaviour can be comprehended as the outcome of a developmental process involving intra-individual dynamics starting much earlier in life.

Willingness to cooperate

My findings suggest that pupils' inclination to cooperate with the police is weakly related to their general attitudes toward policing. Across the sample, cooperation items received the lowest agreement. It is widely argued in the literature on adults that most of those who cooperate with the police do so because of intrinsic-normative motivation. Legitimacy, as Beetham (1991) asserted, provides moral grounds for cooperation on the part of those who are subject to power. However, the impact of moral obligation on cooperation could vary across different situations (as well as psychological distance[37]) by social groups, individuals, and developmental stages.

In this study, I found that the majority of Black respondents agree that police treatment is fair and respectful, yet they are the least likely to agree to assist them (though results are non-significant). This exemplifies the complexity and counterintuitive nature of cooperation. It also supports the conclusions of an Australian study that found that procedural justice had a greater effect in determining cooperation in non-minority groups than in ethnic minority groups (Murphy & Cherney, 2012).

[37] Trope and Liberman (2010) define psychological distance as the subjective experience that something is close or far away from the self, here, and now.

While a police officer in school may treat a pupil fairly and respectfully, reasons for the pupil not to inform the police of a classmate carrying a knife to school, as gathered from focus group discussions and observations, could be:

a. Misunderstanding the seriousness of the event: the pupil does not fully comprehend the seriousness of possible outcomes.
b. Perceived police ineffectiveness: the pupil does not think the police in school can do anything about it. The perceived competence of the individual officer, rather than any perception of fairness, can influence cooperation. Perceived effectiveness was found to determine cooperation in Ghana (Tankebe, 2009), London (Bradford, 2012), New York (Tyler and Fagan, 2008), and Slovenia (Reisig *et al.*, 2014).
c. Cultural judgment, beliefs about police racism and exposure to legal cynicism: like other people in the pupil's family or community, he/she will not trust the police so far as to share relevant information or cooperate with them.
d. The pupil would like to assist the police but is afraid of retaliation by his/her peers:

> S: Yeah, they will beat you. They will get you back… that you're going to snitch after like you're going to inform….
>
> (Year 11, 25 March 2008)

I have examined intentions to comply and cooperate without measuring actual cooperation or levels of compliance with the police in school (which could have been measured in an observational study). Fishbein's (1967) 'theory of reasoned action' and Azjen's (1975) 'theory of planned behaviour' differentiate an intention to behave a certain way from actual behaviour. The theory of planned behaviour added the factor of perceived behavioural control to the model in order to address the fact that some behaviours are not under volitional control. This factor refers to actors' perception of their ability to perform the intended behaviours. Individuals also tend to overestimate the likelihood of preforming desirable behaviour (Ajzen *et al*., 2004). Circumstances may take precedence over an intention to behave in a certain way, and there may be uncertainties about consequences (e.g. unknown consequences of notifying the police that a classmate is carrying a knife). Wallace and colleagues (2005) note that attitude-behaviour consistency decreases after introducing elements that were not considered at the time of the judgment.

The attitude-behaviour link is influenced by direct and indirect experiences, the time between measuring attitudes and behaviour, and how general or specific an attitude is. Attitudes formed

through direct experience with an object appear to be more strongly associated with behaviour related to that object than attitudes not reliant upon direct experience (Regan & Fazio, 1977). More stable attitudes (i.e. a shorter time gap between attitudes and behaviour), and more general attitudes show greater attitude–behaviour consistency than unstable, specific attitudes (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Schwarz, 1978).

The Reflective Impulsive Model (RIM) (Strack & Deutsch, 2004) links attitudes and behaviours. Although it is used mainly in consumer behaviour research, it is relevant to this study, specifically respondents' future intention to cooperate with the police. The Reflective – Impulsive Model suggests that behaviour can be controlled by two interacting systems: a reflective system (conscious deliberation) that guides and directs behaviours by consideration of available information and an impulse system that guides and elicits behaviours though automatic, spontaneous associative links. The high order reflective system categorises the object of an attitude and considers knowledge about it, whereas the impulsive system is heuristic. These are qualitatively distinct cognitive processes that run parallel in the computation of an intention to behave. However the reflective capacity is not always present (Vogel & Wanke, 2016). What determines the activation of RIM is the availability of cognitive resources.

From a developmental psychology perspective, for a child might find it difficult to make the connection between police's fair treatment and legitimised power and formulate an intention to cooperate with them. A child's understanding of abstract institutions in general, and of legal institutions in particular, follows a developmental course. It is more likely that fair treatment by the police in school will contribute to trust in an individual police officer rather than to the legitimisation of the police as a whole. It is not satisfactorily explored in the literature whether adult — let alone adolescent — recipients of police treatment have the ability to perceive, understand and extrapolate from an instance to the greater entity. To explore further, investigators would need to perform Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) and/or adopt a longitudinal design.

6.4 Chapter summary

Legal development takes place in the domains of perception and action (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). While this chapter focused mostly on perceptions, actions were addressed, too. Through focus-group accounts, I learned about pupils carrying knives and deliberately ignoring police orders. The model I propose explains 42 per cent of the variance. In different settings, these variables (socio-demographics, crime and association with the police and social capital) could be more or less influential, and others not included in this study (e.g. media exposure) could have had a great impact as well.

This chapter contributes to the literature by focusing on young people's views of the police and their constituent constructs, and assesses them according to Tyler's theoretical framework. My findings emphasise the importance of judgments about police performance over judgments about fair treatment in relation to specific attitudes toward the police in school. Perceptions of the police as fair did not strongly correlate with a greater sense of duty toward them. This finding highlights the significance of age in relation to specific views of the police; it suggests that conferring symbolic value upon the police might be a developmental achievement that most adolescents have not yet realised.

Young children are less bound by the socio-psychological structures guiding older children in their judgments about the police. With age comes the contextually based understanding of police legitimacy. Additionally, older youth are more likely to test boundaries and demonstrate anti-authority sentiments than younger children; the crime and contact with the police variables were the strongest correlates. Identity-formation processes underlie these behaviours. My findings also suggest that the police in school perform pastoral care roles in addition to more traditional policing ones.

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) concept of the individual as located in social settings that influence development contextualised this chapter's findings. From friendship networks to reliance on state aid, different contexts have been shown to have a positive impact on attitudes to school-based police officers.

The findings regarding social capital highlight the role of the police as agents of social support, especially for vulnerable individuals or individuals in vulnerable circumstances (characterised by lower parental incomes, atypical family structures, or recent migration). Recognition paradigms, which propose that recognition matters not only normatively but also psychologically, may contribute to explaining this finding (Honneth, 1992). Adequate recognition provided by inter-personal relationships with the police in school may provide means for students to achieve other ends.

7. CONCLUSIONS

Questions concerning the relationship between the police and minority ethnic groups, particularly adolescents from those groups, are timely and highly politicised, but they are also powerful in terms of their non-political implications. Most of the research in this field lacks an integrative outlook that brings individuals and their communities together. This research has added a nuanced understanding by examining, on the one hand, collective attributes such as shared histories, community identity and collective efficacy and, on the other hand, personal attributes such as demographics, crime, contact with the police and social capital.

This chapter includes (1) a short summary of findings from the two-level investigation; (2) consequences for theory; (3) theoretical, policy and practice implications; (4) suggestions for further research; and (5) conclusions and major contributions.

7.1 Summary of findings

Different questions guided the investigation and demanded different methods for exploration. Data collection was cumulative, and macro-level analysis shed light on how to approach the more micro, processual lived experiences. The first stage of the investigation reflected primarily a qualitative orientation (trying to understand mechanisms and processes), whereas the second stage, reflecting a more quantitative orientation, provided a detailed picture of the relationships with the police as experienced by young people. At both stages of the investigation, secondary data (including local or national demographic data, policy reports, observations, and focus-group narratives) complemented primary data.

7.1.1 Community

The qualitative stage of the research, which took place in 2007 in Hackney, was based on interviews with representatives from the Haredi, Kurdish-Turkish, Black African and Black Caribbean communities and key members of the Hackney police and Safer Neighbourhoods team.

The participants belonged to lower socioeconomic status communities, though better off communities do exist in Hackney as well. Based on interviews, each community in my sample exhibited distinct characteristics: level of organisation, character (traditional-secular), ethnic identity, density of network, support within the community, ties across communities, family structure and relationship with the police.

I found that cohesiveness within a community, structures of informal social control and provision of social support at the community level all have the potential to yield higher collective efficacy, which in turn facilitates relationships with police leadership (as seen with the Haredi but not with the Black African and Black Caribbean communities). Furthermore, lack of financial capital does not necessarily result in lack of social capital and collective efficacy. These findings are of critical importance at a time when the police are looking for relationships with civil society and community-based organisations because they suggest not only what make partnerships productive, but also what features make potential partners more (or less) feasible. These findings carry implications beyond Hackney to other ethnically diverse locales.

Interviewees felt that the quality of working relations with the police reflected how 'worthy' of collaboration the state deemed the community. The fact that the police sought to work together with some communities and not others (despite policy changes) sent identity-relevant information about inclusion and exclusion to the different communities about belonging to the greater metropolitan and national community. Questions of inclusion/exclusion tie into the tension of distinguishing between individuals' and communities' relationships with the police.

Participants use social representations of risk ('Hackney is a dangerous place') and dichotomised perceptions of the police (i.e. the police are either 'good' or 'bad') to construct narratives that allow them to view and understand the world. By delving into different types of social representations, I found that the combination of lived experience and existing representations of the police can hamper individuals' attitudinal change (even if relationships improve on the organisational level).

In short, groups' collective efficacy and the police's perceived willingness to engage can improve relationships at the organisational level, but changing individuals' attitudes may take more than just increased community-police collaboration.

7.1.2 Individual level: School pupils

In order to examine pupils' individual level assessments of the police, I drew on findings from focus-group discussions and surveys in four Hackney secondary schools. The sample was of high ethnic diversity (only 21.2 per cent White, excluding Other White), though about ten per cent withheld information about their ethnic background. Over a third of survey participants had previous contact with the police in school, and the majority of them had initiated the contact. My conclusions are based on findings from bi-variate associations and models examining general and specific attitudes toward the police held by these school pupils.

General opinions about the police in school were more positive than general opinions about police in the neighbourhood. More than half of the pupils thought the police in schools did a good or excellent job, compared with only a third who thought the same of neighbourhood police. However, cross tabulating general evaluations of school and neighbourhood police (dichotomised positive/negative) showed that the largest group held negative views of the police in both domains.

I found no support for the relationship between the model variables and general attitudes toward the police in the neighbourhood but did find support for the relationship between the same variables and general attitudes toward the police in school (*C&S*/Nagelkerke R^2 = .258/.346). This suggests that either variables other than the ones chosen contribute to attitudes toward police in the neighbourhood or that respondents have had limited or no contact with neighbourhood police and have not yet formulated ideas about them.

More negative general attitudes toward the police in school are related to criminal conduct and to feeling unsafe in the neighbourhood. Although the Chi-square test for ethnic background was not statistically significant across the six ethnic groups, in the BLR model, when controlling for other influences, respondents of African descent held significantly more negative attitudes to the police in school. While not statistically significant, respondents of African descent reported higher involvement in crime and the highest rate of racially motivated victimisation.

Migrant pupils (i.e. foreign born) as well as those who are embedded in family or other larger support networks hold more positive general attitudes toward the police in school than their counterparts. Contact variables (both first- and second-hand) did not yield significant associations with general attitudes to the police in school, contrary to expectations.

With these findings in mind, I intersected uni-dimensional (general) with multi-dimensional (specific) measures to identify the relationships between the theoretical constructs that underlie police legitimacy (i.e. police performance, fairness of treatment, cooperation, duty to comply) and general opinions. I found moderately strong relationships between general attitudes toward police in school and mean score of eleven specific attitude items. However, since causality cannot be determined in a cross-sectional study, it could be either that general ideas about the police influence specific attitudes or vice versa; equally, both could be indicators of underlying feelings of regard for the police.

The strongest relationship was between general attitudes to police in school and evaluation of police performance, suggesting that pupils were more likely to base their general evaluations of school police on instrumental assessments. Meanwhile and counter to expectations, the weakest significant relationships were between general attitudes to police in school and factors of fairness of treatment and cooperation. Though Black Caribbean (in particular Black Caribbean females) and Black African pupils appeared to hold more negative attitudes toward the police, I found no significant attitudinal differences based on ethnicity in the OLS regression.

Consistent with the literature, 'age', 'feeling unsafe in school', 'offending', and 'unsatisfactory contact' variables explained the majority of specific negative attitudes toward the police in school. On the other hand, being the victim of a crime was related to positive attitudes. Because the literature suggests a link between adversarial structural characteristics and negative relationships with and attitudes toward the police, I was surprised to find that being a recipient of a free meal (an indicator of low SES) was also related to positive attitudes toward the police in school. Regarding social capital indicators, I found that the presence of support networks and immediate family-based networks were associated with positive general and specific attitudes to the SSP police. The OLS model explained about 40 per cent of the variance ($R^2 = .42$, Adjusted $R^2 = .39$). Different types of variables (individual, contextual, and social) are

necessary for beginning to untangle complex attitudes. Even so, unexplained variation remains. Therefore, the challenge is two-fold: researchers must investigate not only what additional influences might be at work, but also how they interact with each other and with the dimensions examined here.

7.2 Consequences for theory

The study's findings highlight the importance of social processes to understanding perceptions of police/community dynamics. The discussion below includes the following themes: 1) the spatial order; 2) social representations, ethnic identity and the construction of knowledge about the police; 3) community collective efficacy; and 4) social capital.

7.2.1 The spatial order: Cities, neighbourhoods and schools

In the London Borough of Hackney, pockets of disadvantage exist: this phenomenon is caused by neighbourhood dynamics including specific communities' internal logics, their motivations and limitations for co-locating or re-locating (creating racial or ethnic homophily) and responses to macro-level forces such as the withdrawal of state support and increasing inequality. The overlap between the social and the spatial has its theoretical underpinning in the Chicago school's 'social disorganization theory'. Other indicators of social disorganisation, such as low participation in voluntary or informal organisations and weak support networks, characterise a significant portion of the school survey participants' lives. Whereas, according to GLA figures (2011), socio-economic conditions in the borough are improving, the fact that 40 per cent of children receive free school meals highlights a more complex picture that is obscured by using wide categories and presenting mean income levels.

Adults' attitudes toward the police in Hackney are significantly more negative than the UK average. High system contact (i.e. involvement with the youth justice system or stop-and-search) and neighbourhoods' subjective and objective conditions may contextualise those findings. The police operate at different levels of social and spatial order and connect schools, communities and the state. My work emphasises not only the spatial community ('Hackney'), as often seen in US-based theories, but also ethnic communities of residents contributing to neighbourhood effects.

I adopted a more contextual outlook by considering smaller units rather than 'geographical communities' in which relationships with the police are developed and negotiated, attitudes are formed, and identities are reinstated. While macro-level differences (such as levels of inequality) can explain differences in the prediction of violence or other social indicators representing social disorganisation, they are not always able to explain social processes. One example of how aggregating numbers can lead to missing social processes occurring at a small unit of analysis would be concentrating on an area's trend of gentrification while ignoring the persistence of deprivation. Or alternatively, how do some communities experience better internal regulation (with an effect on crime, health and education) and relationships with external players (such as police or local authorities) than other communities in the same locale?

Police contact

Nearly 40 per cent of survey participants had had previous contact with school police and most were familiar with their assigned police officer. While there was no indicator to assess the degree of contact with neighbourhood police, it is assumed that familiarity is considerably lower than with school police. As expected, offending was a correlate of negative attitudes toward the police across models (q.v. Brick *et al*., 2009; Chow, 2011; Lee *et al.,* 2010). Victimisation correlated with positive specific attitudes to police in school. The findings indicate an overlap between delinquency and being a victim of crime. The study findings support the 'asymmetry of contact' hypothesis (Skogan, 2006) in which satisfactory contact has no impact upon attitudes to police, whereas unsatisfactory contact has a magnifying negative effect. Findings from the qualitative components of this work support the thesis: vicarious contact has a magnifying impact on attitudes toward police (Rosenbaum *et al.*, 2005; Weitzer, 2000; Weitzer, 2002).

Police awareness and visibility

The environment or objects are perceived via inter-subjective and subjective processing. Pupils' reports of police sightings in their *school* are a concrete example from this study. While there is variability in the frequency with which police officers visit a school, the high number of pupils (20 per cent) declaring they have rarely or never seen police officers is puzzling. Interestingly, the 2012/13 CSEW reported only a slightly higher rate of police visibility in the neighbourhood: 29 per cent of those aged 10 to 15 years reported never seeing a police officer or PCSO on foot patrol.

This phenomenon may be explained by the forensic psychology literature on the weak validity of eye-witnessing (Lindsay *et al*., 2007), which draws attention to information-processing (cognitive) mechanisms. Those who reported never seeing the police in school may be oblivious to their presence, or have seen the police although their sightings were not memory-traced, as they may not have had any internal or external use. Those who reported seeing the police daily (23 per cent) were those who held the most negative attitudes toward them. Medium sighting elicited the most positive attitudes toward the police, similar to adults (ONS, 2014). It is possible that pupils who reported high police visibility are those who are involved in offending or are planning truancy (i.e., pupils are checking to see if an officer is around); pupils who reported medium visibility may contact the police themselves or self-situate for safety near officers; and those who reported low visibility may be self-reliant and therefore oblivious to the police and the services they could provide. Sighting, subject to individual awareness, may fluctuate for a variety of reasons, calling into question reassurance theory, which argues that more frequent sightings (providing visible reassurance) yield greater confidence in the police (Fielding & Innes, 2006).

Fear of crime

Overall, pupils perceived SSP schools as a safe place. This finding is in line with Burgess' (2006) evaluation of SSPs, which found that young people in SSP schools (with an officer in their school) felt safer than young people in non-SSP schools. However, fear of crime and safety concerns drove school survey assessments (in line with the literature, q.v. Cracia & Cao, 2005; Payne & Gainey, 2007), dominated students' accounts, and directed behaviours (such as carrying knives for protection). Community leaders were more ambivalent regarding issues of crime and safety on the streets. Some community leader interviewees reflected critically on Hackney's social representation as 'dangerous' (and the role of the media in promoting such an image), but others soberly acknowledged problems with gangs and weapon-handling in the borough. Different people interpret the ecological environment in different ways. Interpretations differ between ethnic, religious and other subcultural groups. Stakeholders from the Black and Turkish/Kurdish communities talked about gangs as a threat to safety, whereas stakeholders from the Haredi community talked about the dangers of hate crimes.

7.2.2 Social representations and the construction of knowledge on the police

Constraints exist in access to, exposure to, the ability to use, and the content of symbolic resources. Once the ability to use symbolic resources has matured, social representations and symbolic elements on their own form constraints, structuring how individuals experience the

world. Symbolic representations hamper the potential for an intuitive interpretation of reality since they provide the scripts that restrict naïve understanding, as seen with community leaders' attitudes toward the police. I also found pockets of distinct and sometimes contradictory modalities of knowledge about the police held by the same individual, i.e. 'cognitive polyphasia' (Moscovici, 2008). However, not everyone has the opportunity to experience and explore different power-relations and to develop different competing ideas about the police, since social groups and institutions can restrict the spatial and temporal contexts of their members (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999).

I found that embeddedness in an immediate family-based network correlates with positive attitudes toward the police in general (in line with the literature, q.v. Wu *et al.* 2015; Sindall *et al*. 2016). It may be that ideas circulated at home about the police explain attitudes toward them. I also found a relationship between general attitudes and specific attitudes: once a general idea about the police exists, it maintains a relationship with specific evaluations of the police or vice versa (the direction of causation cannot be established in a cross-sectional study).

No differences by ethnic background were found in the specific attitudes model. Perhaps heuristic judgment can explain what happens when pupils meet individual police officers in school. As Schwarz and Bohner (2001) argue, specific attitudes are more malleable than general ones, perhaps because generalities are less accessible and require more cognitive processing to compute. The underlying dynamics reflect a complex interplay between context, cognitive processes and communicative processes and are a product of the measurement used (general or specific attitudes).

Police as symbolic resources for Black racial identity

Race functions as a social marker in many societies, while skin colour especially is a signifier of social meanings that has become essentialised and deterministic. The excerpt below refers to African-Americans but also applies to members of Black British communities:

> While race is a social construct (Duster, 2003 Hawkins, 1996), scholars have long recognised its impact in various areas including poverty (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith, 2007), discrimination (Feagin, 1991), mental health (Massey, 2004; Willie, Kramer, & Brown, 1974), educational attainment (Epps, 1995), family structure (Cherlin, 1992) and interpersonal victimisation (US Department of Justice, 2006). (Kaufman *et al*., 2008:421-2)

It is not race or ethnicity alone, but the awareness of systemic racism (and consequently minorities' deep-rooted feelings of inferiority) that feeds into an identity (Blumer, 1958; Bobo and Hutchings, 1996). Discriminatory, or perceived discriminatory, policing tactics that exclude, criminalise and demonise certain groups may reaffirm people's status in society and undermine positive social identities (Bradford, 2012). Beliefs about relationships between police and Black minorities are often interpreted within the framework of racial discrimination.

I found similarities between the Black pupils' general evaluation of the police (in school and in the neighbourhood) and the narrative promoted by leaders of their community, which is not specific to either the African or the Caribbean background. In line with data collected locally (Hackney Council, 2014), African and Caribbean groups reported the highest rates of offending, which explains high system contact and the production of negative police evaluations.

My findings suggest that Black African and Black Caribbean pupils in the sample are dissimilar in their views about the police and report different levels of victimisation based on their race. This raises the following question: while skin colour plays an important part in young children's developing sense of self and others (Tatum, 1992), why do some – but not all – people of a particular race subscribe to specific symbolic images of power relations conveyed by the police?

Within this context, for those who have never offended or been in contact with the police, cultural conventions (e.g. social representations of the police) are pervasive; without sufficient information or strong evidence to refute those representations, people default to them (this may help explain the power of vicarious contact on attitudes). Since identity is co-constructed through the dialectic of self–other relations, children take on the social representations of their communities and learn to see themselves as others do (Duveen, 2000). This turning back on oneself, the availability of social representations and community dynamics seem to vary between sub- racial groups.

Relatedly, the study found that immigrant pupils maintained more positive attitudes toward the police in general. This is consistent with the literature suggesting that immigrants see themselves as 'guests' and are therefore less critical of the establishment, whereas subsequent, more societally embedded generations are aware of injustices and are therefore willing to object to unequal treatment or perceived discrimination (Paul, 1997). 'Naïve' understanding stripped

of preconceptions could explain immigrant pupils' attitudes toward the police; in addition, they are less likely to self-report offending and thus have less negative contact with the police than others.

Depending on the message conveyed, the child's understanding of the world and the context, direct and indirect contact with police has the power to stimulate the development of identities. However, without knowing the history of race relations, a child is less likely to use an encounter with police as identity-relevant information about their own value and social standing.

Consequences of symbolic work

Du Bois's (1903) theory of 'double consciousness', i.e. "the sense of looking at one's self through the eyes of others" (1903:351), within the context of race relations in the US is relevant here. It offers an explanation for identity development process and explains the difficulty for people of minority groups to reconcile their identities (i.e. to maintain both national and racial identities harmoniously). Consider the account given by a member of the Hackney Black African community (Interviewee 4), featuring an acute awareness of internalised stereotypes about Black criminality. Difficulty in achieving a secure identity is best exemplified when Interviewee 4 calls himself 'a mongrel of some sort.' Black respondents' attitudes toward the police convey more than a judgment about how the police are doing their jobs. Rather, the stimulus evokes deep-rooted feelings.

Social groups' beliefs and expectations that belong to an existing and deterministic social order may be destructive because these scripts (i.e. cognitive maps) are more readily available (Rudman, 2004). These associations can hamper relationships with representatives of the law or even have a potential effect on the individual's self-concept through group association. Examples from this study also show instances when the automatic use of symbolic resources is challenged. Acknowledgement of and resistance to the image of Hackney as 'dangerous' could bring a positive change to local identities. Likewise, some community leaders were capable of negotiating their views of the police by contrasting them with common representations circulated in their respective communities (i.e. as reflective users [Psaltic, 2010]). Though less likely, it can lead to sociogenesis, or the process through which social representations are generated or replaced (Duveen & Lloyd, 1990). This idea was demonstrated in the following account:

> [Change] takes place over time, over a period. Even if there is lot of good will now...it is...really built in the people conscious that the police are generally racist and target black people... (Interviewee 4)

7.2.3 Community collective efficacy

Police working with ethnic minority communities in highly disorganised areas, as in the present study, can provide experiences that either promote or undermine inclusion. However, the police's success in promoting inclusion is contingent on the community's collective efficacy, an attribute influenced and shaped by challenges at hand, cultural background, group characteristics and historical developments. One aspect of collective efficacy theory is the existence of a relationship between informal social control at community level, cohesion, and relationships with the police.

A related community characteristic addressed in this study is organisational structure, which builds on community history and shared expectations. Thus, an ethnic community can be a more powerful resource than a merely geographical community. The shared knowledge on which a group bases its distinctive identity derives both formative and normative expectations from it; at times it provides the guidelines for collective action, as seen in the Haredi community, while collective memories underlie other communities' perceptions of the police and form expectations about their respective collective capacities.

Strong ties, secure identities and bonds of solidarity and social responsibility accompanied by able leadership within an existing organisational set-up enable communities to regulate internal issues and collaborate with the police when necessary. Community leaders' relationships with the police or Safer Neighbourhoods teams inform us about leadership structures, shared expectations, and a community's social cohesion and have shown that they can enable co-operation with other actors at the community level to achieve desired goals. Police-work with communities is a cooperative enterprise: not only do the police choose with whom to partner, but the selected community or its leaders must also show that they adhere to common values and accept the police as a partner.

High levels of collective efficacy may help to mitigate negative neighbourhood characteristics, such as exposure to high levels of crime and engagement in unstructured activities. A key member of the Kurdish-Turkish community explained that parents ask him to intervene by talking with children who are at risk of becoming engaged in criminal activity. The impact of

the community-level mechanism is negotiated at the parents' request; the parents recognise their community leader as a resource in mitigating their child's misbehaviour.

This effect is mirrored in the literature, which shows the strength of collective efficacy in deprived neighbourhoods as protecting children who are at higher risk of following an anti-social developmental trajectory (Cubbin *et al.*, 2000; Gordon-Larsen *et al.*, 2006; Kohen *et al.*, 2002; Winkleby & Cubbin, 2003; Winslow & Shaw, 2007). Since the impact of the environment is prominent during adolescence, the protective pathway provided by collective efficacy during this period should be addressed. Although it was beyond the study's scope to understand how collective efficacy is viewed and experienced by young people, school surveys and focus-group discussions helped to shed light on network structures and social ties — control mechanisms that mediate relationships with the police. Even at a lower level of aggregation in friendship or support networks, embeddedness in a group can produce a regulatory effect, promoting social order and pro-social attitudes.

7.2.4 Social capital and well-being of young people

> The basic argument, then, is that the extent to which people are embedded within their family relationships, social networks, and communities, and their sense of belonging and civic identity, constitutes "social capital". This stock of "social capital" in turn has an impact on health and well-being. (Morrow, 1999:758)

This idea of social capital aptly captures the social context of children's realities whether at home, at school, or in their neighbourhoods. Both social ties and support networks were found to be strong elements in most participants' social lives. Embeddedness in friendship and support networks contributes to social capital and is correlated with positive attitudes to the police in school: the support network grows, and so does regard for the police. As suggested by the literature, embeddedness in pro-social networks and institutions produces pro-social attitudes and has a regulatory effect (Hirschi, 1969). In addition, support networks are likely to generate skills for coping with adversities (Gitterman & Germain, 2008).

Uniformity in attitudes to the police was found across the homogeneity of network lines. Friends from the same ethnic background reported relationships with more positive specific attitudes to the police in school: that is, more ethnically homogenous networks correlated with more positive specific attitudes to the police in school. Strong pro-social bonds imply inclusion and support and may indicate greater generalised trust. The study also highlighted two

friendship-attribute dyads: power and respect, and support and belonging. Young people sort themselves into groups and these groups produce and maintain certain qualities. Young Black males may pursue status or reputation (Willson, 1987; Anderson, 1999) – and therefore self-esteem and power (capital) – by adopting a street culture, since they perceive other legitimate ways as blocked.

The study highlighted a range of practical and social constraints experienced by the children (many lived in low-income, single-parent households). Therefore it is particularly interesting to see how those young people were able to build a rapport with school police and generate social capital through personal bonding over extended periods, despite social strains. This is a critical aspect of the job of the police in schools and indicates what they are able to offer to young people from disadvantaged or vulnerable backgrounds. To those young people who hold the police in positive regard, the police in school convey a sense of inclusion and perhaps constitute a mirror through which they can construct and experience a positive sense of self. As such, schools can be a site for generating trust in areas like Hackney.

Clearly, school can also be a site of negative consequences, but it is nevertheless a site of social support and positive identity development. Erickson (1964) noted:

> True identity depends on the support which the young receive from the collective sense of identity which social groups assigned to [them]:[their] class, [their] nationality, [their] culture (p. 93)

The school domain represents a paradigm shift in relationships with the police since it creates opportunities for young people to access police support, which imparts a different symbolic meaning to the police's role. This shift finds a conceptual home in theories of recognition (Fraser, 1996; Honneth, 1992). Since individuals fundamentally depend on the feedback of other subjects, those who feel adequately and impartially recognised may have a greater chance to develop a secure identity. As Honneth (1992) argues, positive experiences with others provide the fundamental conditions for identity-formation through respect and dignity.

7.3 Potential implications: Theory, practice and policy

7.3.1 Theory implications: Is ethnicity the cause?

The answer to whether ethnicity could be the key to understanding attitudes to the police is both yes and no: ethnic groups, like any other groups, have their own histories, some with strong

reference to the police, and some constitute a salient feature in social identities (such as in the case of Black heritage) while others do not. Similarly, ethnicity as ascribed status — traditionally defined as incorporating religion, race and language — could or could not comprise individual's self-concept and function as a factor in explaining social outcomes.

The central argument of this dissertation posits that, when ethnicity is socially constructed and mediated though group-level understanding and socio-psychological processes, it can explain the dependent variables: relationships with and perceptions of the police. Identity is always multi-layered (e.g. gender, race, ethnicity), and different facets of identity are sometimes recognised by society, missing adequate recognition or misrecognised. Ethnicity is only one of many ways of social sorting, yet it is undoubtedly one that receives ample attention in explaining relations with the police.

At the meso-level, ethnicity or race-based communities (including their cohesiveness, recognition and collective efficacy) can explain relationships with and attitudes toward the police. Organisations such as the police send valorising messages, not always intentionally, about the group's relative place in the world. Once received and acknowledged by recipients, these signals reiterate group and self-image in a way that can lead to cultural continuity.

At the micro-level, the story is more complex. Considering Black African and Black Caribbean pupils in the school sample, there is a case to argue that the Black identity is forced upon individuals because of visual distinctiveness. Worrell et al (2011) suggest that racial identity attitudes might develop earlier and show greater stability than other identities. However, general attitudes to the police were more negative for Black Africans than for Black Caribbeans. Perhaps Black Caribbean and Black African groups in the sample represent two different psychological groups owing to their histories, times of emigration, family structures, roles of authority figures, relationships with the state and its agents and other interdependencies. Compared to their Black Caribbean counterparts, Black African pupils in the sample were more sensitive to racial messages and engaged with the police more symbolically, since their identities were experienced as threatened (Berkwell, 1986). Whatever the reason, it is clear that these experiences are not idiosyncratic.

Indeed, the understanding of macro-level processes (e.g. discrimination) varies between children, and some children acquire understanding of their ecological environment earlier than

others (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Identity development researchers in the US (Helms, 1992; Helms & Piper, 1994) have questioned the applicability of Phinney's (1992) measurements of ethnic identity to race identity. Helms regards maturation in status being "triggered by a combination of cognitive-affective complexity within the individual and race-related environmental stimuli" (1992:184).

The case of Black female respondents, who were more negative in their attitudes to the police than Black male respondents, could be explained by the notion of intersectionality, wherein the two modalities of race and gender intersect. It is not for this dissertation to take the discussion into the domains of feminism and critical sociology, but it is important to recognise that scholars (e.g. Kristeva, 1982; Taylor, 2013) perceive gender and race as pre-discursive identifiers:

> Identities operate through exclusion, through the discursive construction of a constitutive outside and the production of abjected and marginalized subjects, apparently outside the field of the symbolic, the representable – the production of and outside, a domain of intelligible effects (Butler, 1993:22)

Processes related to social identity formation vary across backgrounds, suggesting that different triggers may activate or counteract feelings of 'otherness' (e.g. recent migration, exposure to demeaning cultural images of minorities, internalised citizenship, active solidarity, and varying levels of group embeddedness) and are likely to explain *general* attitudes toward the police. The social representation of otherness, per Howarth (2006), could manifest itself as a divisive process – highlighting the divide between 'us' and 'them'. This perhaps explains why variability across ethnic lines was more pronounced (albeit not statistically significant in the neighbourhood police BLR model) when respondents were asked general questions about the police but not specific questions; this type of dichotomy is better captured in general orientation (good/bad, yes/no) questions.

However, neither ethnicity nor race on its own explains differences in relationships with and attitudes to the police at the individual level, although group consciousness (building on shared narratives and representations) intersected with individual-level affiliation to or embeddendness in the group (i.e. salience of ethnic identity) and the use of representational tools assist in explanation. The findings suggest that perceptions of the police could vary between ethnic groups. However, the factors associated with these views are not universal: they are expected

to vary by how social group (rather than by ascribed social category) and group identity are incorporated in the individual's self-concept.

7.3.2 Theory implications: Legal socialisation and police legitimacy

Theories of legitimacy proved relevant when exploring community leaders' attitudes toward the police. National and ethnic identities played a key role in communities' relationships with the police in Hackney; however, they could not be replicated when children were the subjects. Police partnerships and positive assessments of the working relationship with them sent community leaders a message of inclusion. Gatekeepers who experienced good working relationships with the police also tended to express a more a secure national identity. At the community level, the findings offer support to the group-engagement model, linking procedural justice, social identity and legitimacy (Tyler & Blader, 2003).

While some communities (e.g. Haredi and, to some extent, Turkish-Kurdish) may see the police as a partner, this does not grant police the authority and autonomy to handle all situations within them — as indicated by the low rate crime reports, which is mainly due to specific histories of the police and ethnic groups and available social mechanisms in place (such as collective and organisational efficacy). This provides further evidence of the complex nature of cooperation with the police.

The leading argument in the current literature on attitudes toward the police is that fair treatment is a necessary component of legitimacy (Tyler, 1993), which in turn shapes people's willingness to obey the law and to cooperate with the police. It is based on the following assumptions: (1) judgments about the behaviour of the police as an organisation are more likely to follow an encounter; and (2) it requires that, if people lack direct experience, they know something about the institution of the police and how it operates. This pathway is applicable when the recipient is capable of making the connection and extrapolates from an encounter to the greater police institution.

In the school domain, compliance with school police was based on instrumental consideration (sanctions, costs and incentives). This not only provides a reference to the legal development process that entails a transition from coercive compliance to normative compliance, but it also indicates a need to draw a line between orientations toward the law and attitudes toward the police, which is missing from Tyler's theory of procedural justice (1990). Moreover, it calls

attention to the context or situation-based element of compliance at the individual level (i.e. compliance with the police in school *vs.* on the street).

Cooperation with school police, a more complex notion to disentangle, is based on the following considerations: peer pressure, police officer personality and instrumental and situational assessments of likely consequences. It emphasises the personal aspect of cooperation (i.e. individual costs and benefits), the interpretation of the role of the police in school, and the difficulty of abstracting from it to the citizen's legal obligations (such as reporting crime). This accompanies growing evidence for the weak direct link between attitudes and behaviour (Schwarz & Bohner, 2001; Jonas, Broemer, & Diehl, 2000)

Fair treatment by school police may encourage attachment to individual police (with preference for modest levels of contact), since the police in school carry a significant agentic potential to cultivate a bond of trust with the pupils. The accumulated experience with legal authority in school might contribute to legal socialisation, although this is more difficult to establish; a longitudinal design would be needed to test this assumption.

When people are socialised into a specific order with the aid of representational tools, roles and power-relations are internalised. Here, the emphasis is on legal socialising as an age-related process. People are not born possessing all this knowledge. Another age-related area highlighted by the study is the differentiation between recognising police officers as holding legal rights and the idea of the police as a legitimate body. To be able to make a judgment about police legitimacy, one needs also to understand what legitimacy means.

As previously discussed, young participants in school surveys and focus groups were able to understand that police powers are not omnipotent, but the idea that the police are a legitimate authority was not present in the accounts. Those who challenged police authority to stop them on the street may have exercised legal reasoning, drawing on a higher-level understanding of the legal system or interpreting their experience within a critico-legal framework (and the two could be related). Understanding these processes could add to the growing body of knowledge regarding legal cynicism.

A further conceptual complication arises from the on-going nature of legal socialisation. While adolescence is recognised as a critical period of legal socialisation, scholars argue that legal

socialisation is also a continuous process occurring over the lifespan (Fine & Cauffman, 2015; Hogan & Mills, 1976; Tapp, 1991). Since it is negotiated over time, its 'attainment' does not exist.

To summarise, satisfactory police treatment will probably not lead to improved perceptions of police legitimacy by school pupils (and, for Black pupils, while the police and procedures may appear fair this does not correlate with holding the police in higher regard). Expectations of being treated with respect, while present in the accounts, do not seem to feed into concepts of group self-realization, social identity (national or ethnic) and police legitimacy, as the literature suggests it should.

7.3.3 Practice implications

The study carries implications for methods. It suggests that a racism awareness component (in the form of victimisation items based on race or ethnic background) and a question about belonging to an ethnic friendship network could be used to inform the construct of ethnic identity. Other methodological implications relate to the inclusion of social aspects that are rarely investigated by criminologists, such as networks of support, embeddedness in friendship networks, homophilous sorting, and network attributes. These items could further be explored in different contexts as they shed light on aspects of individual resilience and vulnerability. To explore different types of contact, I suggest adding interaction terms to reflect direct and vicarious contacts.

There are a few caveats to address. It is important to note the dynamic nature of concepts, beginning with the recognition that (1) individuals continue to have direct or vicarious contact with the legal system throughout their lifetimes; (2) legal socialisation is an on-going process that continues even during adulthood (Trinkner & Cohn, 2016); and (3) concurrently, the legal system itself is fluid, with changing policies and practices following societal changes (e.g. stop-and-search may be perceived more favourably by the majority in the wake of terror threats than before them). Modifications in evaluations of the legal system and its representatives are necessary within a complex, constantly fluctuating reality.

Legal socialisation is better conceptualised as the constant interaction between individuals and their environment, which is useful in explaining the findings regarding variation between individuals in attitudes. Those who are strongly embedded in community structures, those who

suffer as members of a visible community, and those who draw on their immediate family network for information about the police all present more attitudinal congruity about the police in general. Investigators ought to pay attention to the birth of virtual communities, social media, and the inter-generational split posing the practical question about what role ethnic leaders have or will have in their members' lives.

Additionally, while some communities believe that they are over-policed, the reality is more complex. Allocation of police officers is often decided by demand, following a problem-oriented policing model, and police often experience low demand from some close-knit communities. Based on this study's findings, the police use a 'hands-off' approach with specific communities, reflecting the culture of delegation of police responsibilities to other agencies or partners.

The final practical implication concerns research strategy. This study highlighted the importance of context to understanding social experiences (i.e. minorities' relationships with, and attitudes to, the police). Deference to administrative or departmental boundaries, which is not an uncommon practice, in studying social phenomena can compromise accuracy and be misleading since it runs the risk of overlooking crucial social dynamics.

7.3.4 Policy implications

Multicultural politics (social acceptability of difference) permitted communities to claim recognition and express their distinctiveness; it also reified social categories that are both used and abused in social, political and academic domains. By recognising the 'jurisdiction' of ethnic communities with high collective efficacy and low bridging trust, some segments of a community could become dominant or separate from other sub-groups. Although outside the scope of the present study, it is also important to acknowledge that some communities ignore victims or condone victimisation, which also damages the bond between the individual and the state (as it might seem unable to provide protection). More recently, population churn, the death of some communities and the sometimes technologically facilitated birth of others all compromise stagnant policy efforts with communities and necessitate reconceptualization and adjustment.

This study has highlighted the significance of policing under the SSPs. The police's work in school is not limited to law enforcement and safety; as this study demonstrates, it also supports

young people. Police working in schools help to prevent young people being brought unnecessarily into the CJS. Such work is critical in areas of concentrated disadvantage, where young people are at high risk of criminality and of low well-being. The work of the police in schools is relevant in the context of both central and local policy shifts toward early intervention and child safeguarding. What began in 2002 as an *ad hoc* solution quickly became one of the most celebrated and successful police initiatives in the past decade. However, it is now under financial threat. Following cutbacks to police and other services since 2010, the future of police/multi-agency collaboration is unclear.

While critical sociology did not guide this research orientation, there are relevant observations and questions to pose. Overall, the study has shown that the police's work in schools under the SSPs could be positive for individual pupils. However, as a society, what do people make of the police in school? Should the police accept liability in cases of other societal shortfalls, other than those that are crime-related? How would police presence affect the schools' work and ethos? The presence of police officers in schools nowadays may be seen differently because of the government's Prevent strategy, whereby SSP police collaborate with teachers (Department for Education, 2015). While it is promoted as a way to protect children from radicalisation, the strategy also creates a culture of suspicion: A report by the Institute of Race Relations has raised this aspect of SSPs as giving cause for concern (Kundnani, 2009). It criminalises young people (aided, perhaps, by technology such as CCTV or body-worn cameras), thus limiting the potential benefits of police work.

What are the possible impacts of blurring the roles of the police on policing and to the policed? Should a different authority be assigned to take on pastoral care while leaving the police to focus on fighting crime? While police work in school may be an example of the state invading other territories (Reiner, 2010), evidence from this study shows that the police also relinquish responsibilities so that some communities take on more social control in the context of the pluralisation of policing in England and Wales (Jones & Newburn, 2006). How do the police choose with whom to enter into partnership, and how do these relationships represent shifts in police–citizen power-relations? How do we make sense of policing's contradictory intentions and practices?

7.4 Policy recommendations

To incorporate these research findings into future policies, I recommend the following: (1) working closely with communities to create opportunities for social engagement and improved communication; (2) interventions at the community level; (3) addressing child development in policies; and (4) exploring the police–in–school role to achieve multiple goals related to individuals' and communities' well-being.

7.4.1 Community consultations with the police

Continuing meetings between communities' key members and local police should help to identify problems and solutions by engaging the mediating powers of community organisations. These meetings provide opportunities to introduce and reiterate common goals and enhance common knowledge. Common knowledge with respect to laws and conventions is particularly important to communities running their own legal systems parallel to those of the state. 'Common knowledge' might also refer to shared expectations regarding citizens' duties to society at large and create inclusion, thereby enabling coordinated activities and the smoother running of state organisations. While community consultations with the police already exist in one form or another, participants need to identify barriers to collaborative work and engage more diverse voices within the local communities.

7.4.2 Interventions at the community level

Interventions to enhance safety and reduce risk should strengthen communities by (1) building viable leadership, (2) building organisational capacity, (3) cultivating a sense of ownership in and cultural commitment to the community, and (4) encouraging interfaith or intercommunity information sharing and collaboration. These can help to create a sense of solidarity and enhance participation.

'Community policing', such as the Community Security Trust (CST), is an example of civic engagement. It works best when it integrates local crime policy with efforts to build networks of informal social control, trust and collective efficacy. Community organisations should be working as partners alongside the police, and the police should ensure the reiteration of common values. By modelling working relationships with other communities and partners and by appreciating state institutions' legitimacy, communities could also help to develop young people's collaborative capacities and a sense of efficacy.

7.4.3 Addressing child development and legal socialisation

Child development is key to understanding how law and authority are perceived and interpreted, especially among young people. Values are largely internalised early in the life-course and mostly consolidated by early adulthood (Piquero *et al*., 2005). Policing policy interventions should take the process of legal socialisation into account by calibrating engagement with key developmental stages (including, perhaps, Key Stages in the school curriculum). Hopefully, disentangling how children and young people understand directives given to them by the police will encourage later willingness to comply and cooperate.

Appreciation of law and rules is a developmental process and thus experienced and expressed differently at different ages. The product of this legal socialisation process depends on multiple factors, such as experiences with the law, pre-disposition toward authority figures including parents and teachers and peer-group and media influence, but school programmes and interventions can also make an impact.

7.4.4 Definition of the police-in-school role

SSP uses no single model. It is multiple, depending on circumstances and available resources. Police in various schools have a wide range of responsibilities. Depending on the context, they can consolidate existing ideas or create new perceptions of themselves and the institutions they represent. Since experiences in school form children's representations of institutions and authorities, the role and goals police placed in schools should be given more policy and academic attention.

Police who work with young people should focus on improving their interpersonal and other 'soft' skills. School police recruitment and selection criteria should emphasise interpersonal skills and the ability to engage with young people. A clearer definition of the role of police in school (incorporating both crime control and pastoral care) will help to secure a balance between police responsibilities and the needs of both schools and pupils.

7.4.5 Be realistic

In an ideal world, an approach to improving attitudes toward the police would integrate policies for strengthening communities (and their capacity for collective efficacy and collaboration work), harnessing the mediating capacities of community mechanisms and building organisational capacity and leadership, while simultaneously addressing child development. The challenge is to catch up with the changing role of the police in contemporary society

affected by the dominance of the digital world, the shrinking of some communities and the birth of others, and shifting police priorities and responsibilities, including combating radicalisation (which requires resources for intelligence-led and goal-focused policing).

While insights from this study have the potential to be extrapolated to other applied fields outside criminology, I emphasise the need to be prudent about expectations for attitudinal and behavioural change following police contact. Somewhat against the grain of criminological thinking, this study's findings indicate that improved contact may not lead to improved attitudes. We do not live in an ideal world. Problems with structural racism or biased treatment are either still occurring or are perceived or believed to be occurring (such as the 'new racism' in a 'colour blind' society) and feed in to group consciousness and self-image, which affect relationships with and attitudes to the police. So long as individuals continue to feel marginalised and mistrustful of the police or the state, changes in attitudes and the legitimisation of those institutions are unlikely to follow. The recommendations offer no 'magic bullets' for building a stronger relationship between communities and the police. This research provided a snapshot of a greater social problem and, since change does not occur over night, society is in need of greater awareness, better integration practices, and perseverance in waiting for long-term outcomes.

7.5 Suggestions for further research

Network analysis could explore friendship network dynamics (such as density or homophily) in adolescence and disadvantaged minorities' access to positive social networks. This would provide an insight into indirect relationships between social ties, crime, and attitudes to law and its representatives. It is important to understand networks of disadvantaged minorities in order to promote alternative forms of positive social capital in cases where other opportunities are blocked, particularly when parental supervision is compromised. Therefore, investigating the conditions under which strong social ties foster trust and where social control is effective may be crucial in promoting well-being for disadvantaged minorities.

Further research could explore how organisational efficacy is practised. This might investigate whether or how young people access community information and become familiar with organisational structures, as well as whether community leaders reflect youth attitudes regarding associations with crime, crime control efforts, and relationships with the police.

On the other hand, studies could undertake to understand the role of police in school as promoters of positive social capital and nurturers of bonding trust. Could they fill a gap, especially for young disadvantaged minorities lacking positive social capital in the form of attachment and social support? What are the potential sociological and psychological problems associated with providing schools with notions of power and authority through policing?

Likewise, we must better understand how police in school can intervene at the 'knowledge-free' stage, before the onset of adolescence and before judgments based on social knowledge are more likely to occur. How can police assist in instilling shared values in young children in both schools and communities?

Additional research must also address the relationship between perceptions of and attitudes toward the police. My findings linking the frequency of sighting police in school with attitudes are surprising, and require further investigation as part of the reassurance debate. Its main arguments are that police visibility reduces fear of crime and thus enhances confidence. This can be explored within the context of social and motivational influences on perceptual judgments.

It is also necessary to explore the impact of indirect contact and extended but trivial contact, compared with direct contact, on influencing attitudes toward the police.

Further investigation should also investigate the impact of the ethnic background of the police officer in cases when ethnic minorities are at the receiving end of malpractice. The evidence on the relationship between the police ethnic background and force diversification, policing tactics, and citizens' satisfaction remains inconclusive (Weitzer, 2015). If criminological theory and practice hold that perceptions are influenced by ethnicity, studies should consider the ethnic background of police officers when perceptions following contact are the independent variable.

Going forward, grouping in specific ethnic categories should be made prudently and in accordance with parameters based on minorities' historical experiences. 'Ethnicity' refers to a combination of historical, political, social and cultural factors. However, over-specification makes it difficult to construct an empirically meaningful account (Jefferson, 1993 in Gelsthorpe 1993:39). Interviewee 4 described this tension:

> Right. If you look at racism or communities, you can keep splitting them up forever and ever. For example, you can go to an island in the Caribbean and the people on this island, they might … that island, right. And on that island … those in the north ... And those in the south, but it can go on and on. So while you have lots of things in common, you can always find divisions but there are a lot more things that they have in common than what divides us.

Integrating micro, meso and macro levels of explanation in more comprehensive enquiries into the nature of minority/police relationships could offer possibilities for more context-specific and effective interventions. This could be accomplished by tracing local dynamics, social structures, group mechanisms and processes, as well as macro-level considerations and individual choices. Comparisons with other localities should be included, as police/citizen relationships are likely to be shaped by specific localities and their demographic makeups.

Responsible scholarship also calls for the replication of this community-level study in different settings within and outside the UK to determine if my findings are generalisable. While socio-demographic settings and policing styles vary, I anticipate that similar patterns of co-location/co-habituation will be seen in different minority groups (producing homophily) with similar challenges to police relationships and similar collaboration with ethnic communities across space and place. It is important to investigate social mechanisms of informal social control and working relationships with the police in order to determine how broadly my results can be generalised.

Future exploration could identify developmental trajectories of legal socialisation via the police-in-school programme, controlling for peer influence and neighbourhood effects (including crime and other demographics) and exposure to different forms of social control. A longitudinal design would be most appropriate for this task. The move from involuntary compliance to voluntary compliance could be explored at the point of transition from secondary school to adult life, for example.

Finally, the following complexities relating to legitimacy bear additional exploration: (1) the course of legitimisation (particularly of legal institutions and police) experienced by newcomers who are unfamiliar with social and legal conventions or who have different expectations and rely on prior experiences; (2) dramatic changes in the police's role both locally and nationally, which might involve catching up with challenges (e.g. globalisation, terrorism,

technological advances) and raise questions about automatically granted legitimacy and the need to negotiate powers; (3) the need to understand and acknowledge developmental processes and pathways along which legal knowledge develops; and (4) the link between an individual's inclination to cooperate with the police and evidence related to cooperative behaviour — a related ambiguity of legitimacy.

7.6 Study limitations

This is a cross-sectional case study, and I acknowledge that a study exploring contacts and attitudes could benefit from a longitudinal design. Cross-sectional studies provide a glimpse into, rather than a deeper understanding of, causation over time and direction of relationship. This is particularly important when considering contact with and attitudes toward the police – and which of those comes first.

Another known limitation in attitudinal studies concerns the capacity of a Likert scale to reflect positions related to a research object. Intervals between points on a scale do not represent equal changes in attitude for all individuals (Revilla *et al*., 2014). Moreover, survey comprehension cannot be tested.

The dynamic nature of identity also poses challenges to research. People hold multiple social identities concurrently: ethnic and national identities are dominant for some but not for others, and some experiences or settings may prioritise one identity over others. This research instrument had only one measure of identity salience (the friends with whom the pupil spends most time). In the future, it might be sensible to look into measures of identification rather than identity, although it might be harder to capture.

In addition, attitude measurement is highly context-dependant. Small changes such as question wording, formatting or sequence can influence how people understand and respond to questions (Schwartz & Bohner, 2001). Valence-strength (e.g. one person's 'agreeing very much' with a target statement is not the same another's) and attitude stability over time are both important aspects of attitudes and their measurement that this study was unable to explore.

The following demographic characteristics were not reviewed: educational achievements, parental income (though a 'free school meal' variable was used to tap into institutionalised support), religion, respondents' native language, number of years in the neighbourhood, and family structure. While data on some of these variables were collected, they were outside the scope of the research. Although I did not collect data on exposure to media or social media, they may also represent important influences.

In terms of analyses, there were a few limitations: 1) The neighbourhood police BLR model was not significant, so I did not pursue subsequent interpretations. 2) The high proportion of missing cases in the multivariate regression limited its utility. About 10 per cent of survey participants withheld information on their ethnic background, reducing the test's ability to detect small effects. 3) I would have liked to perform analyses on the predictors for the attitude scale's sub-dimensions (performance, fairness of treatment, cooperation with the police and obligation to obey the police). However, due to space limitations and previous feedback from reviewers, I limited the analyses to specific attitude scale means.

The generalisability of the findings is not without complications. Cross-validation using an adjusted R^2 formula shows some loss of predictive power, although it is not substantial. Because about 10 per cent of participants withheld information about ethnic background, I was unable to harness the power necessary to identify small group level variations in attitudes toward the police

The findings may have limited generalisability due to differences in research settings and characterises most, if not all research studies. The CJS has undergone dramatic changes, new legislation has been introduced, new forces have been created and immigration has become more contested. These changes have had an impact on minorities' relationships with and attitudes toward the police. In addition, there is inherent variability between police systems (i.e., structure and function), even within the same county. Moreover, while other towns and cities in the UK are diverse, London is an extreme case.

I have also relied on literature emanating from research in the US, since much of it is relevant to this study. However, it is not always clear whether arguments can be easily transferred from the US context to the UK (Rustin, 1997). Communal life, notions of citizenship, policing and

policy and their relationship to government, political systems, immigration and the history and nature of race relations differ fundamentally between the two countries.

7.7 Major contributions

This study took a wide view by integrating individual and community understandings of the police and different levels of social knowledge construction. To do so, I unravelled and interwove community leaders' ideas with pupils' attitudes, both general and specific, toward police in the neighbourhood and in school. I attempted to answer the following research questions:

- Are ethnicity and race salient for understanding people's views of the police in Hackney?

I found social capital, pupils' association with crime and contact with the police were more reliably related to attitudes toward the police than ethnicity or race. Although I found limited variability along ethnic lines at the individual level, I found greater differentiation at the community level (e.g. community leaders' views). By using the tool of social representations, I was able to investigate processes underlying the construction of knowledge about the police in relation to group and self-identities. Ethnic identity (including racial and religious identity) was only one aspect of identity participants alluded to when discussing relationships with and attitudes toward the police. Other notable social identities included local identity, national identity and gendered identity.

- What is the relation between social representations of the police, ethnic identity and attitudes to the police?

The central argument of this dissertation is that when ethnicity is socially constructed and mediated though group-level understanding and socio-psychological processes, it helps to explain the dependent variables: relationships with, and perceptions of, the police. This happens when the police deliver symbolic meanings. Symbolic resources are directed by the interests, goals and activities of the group that produces them, as well as by threats posed to the group (see 'threatened identities' and the use of social representations cf. Breakwell, 1986; Howarth,

2002). Communication and interaction with in-group and out-group members circulate and also shape representations (Moscovici, 1984).

At the community level, collaboration between the police and community leaders sends a message of inclusion to that community. This study demonstrated the existence of different levels of representational work: in particular, I identified unreflective and reflective users, and non-users, of representations of the police. Other features of representational work found in this study included the emerging of representations of the police held by community leaders and the accompanying phenomenon of cognitive polyphasia, which at times could lead to a change (i.e. 'socio-genesis') in social representations.

At the individual level, this relationship is more complex. Police are placed in school at a critical time of identity-formation and are considered "negotiators of a much wider set of social processes" (Loader & Mulcahy 2003:39). Since identity is constructed through and against the representations held by others and constrained by particular social contexts and cognitive maturity, the police can deliver meaning to some adolescents (about exclusion, otherness and marginalisation).

- What is the role of community level mechanisms of collective efficacy in facilitating working relationships with the police?

This study introduced the concept of collective efficacy to understanding relationships with and attitudes toward the police. At the meso-level, ethnicity or race-based communities (including their cohesiveness, recognition and collective efficacy) can explain relationships with and attitudes toward the police. I showed that police recognition of a community as a viable partner can promote relationships with and alter perceptions toward the police in that community. I investigated the processes of inclusion and exclusion triggered by the police, owing to their symbolic nature. The meaning attached to the police may vary between collectivities and between individuals. I showed that improved relationships with the police could evolve within different contexts (both the community and the individual) and in relation to processes concerning group and self-identities.

- What factors (socio-demographic background, types of contact with school police and contact satisfaction, fear of crime, offending and victimisation, and social capital)

explain young people's general and specific attitudes to the police in Hackney secondary schools and Hackney neighbourhoods?

- What is the relationship between general (overall judgment) and specific (extend across various theoretical constructs) attitudes to the police in school?

This study included novel measures of attitudes toward the police in school and in the community. The measures incorporated a distinctive and more comprehensive combination of variables (including, e.g., immigrant background and ethnic origin, friendship patterns and contact type and quality), so that effects of ethnic differences could be differentiated as accurately as possible. Information on the school police's ethnic and gender background was included, and this constitutes a contribution in the light of a limited discussion of police officers' backgrounds.

This thesis pioneers the combination of social-psychological ideas and criminological theories (namely social bond theory, social disorganisation, collective efficacy, and legitimacy) to understand how individuals in Hackney interpret the police. It also explored the relationship between general and specific attitudes toward the police, although this was limited due to the cross-sectional nature of the study.

I found that embeddedness in positive social networks strengthens regard for the police. Perhaps this can be explained by the regulatory impact of (pro-social) network-mediating relationships with authority figures. Embeddedness in social networks also highlights the role of communicative practice in circulating views of the police. I showed the impact of network homogeneity on attitudes toward the police in a way that had not been done previously and was innovative in terms of the measures used. The thesis provides support for the established ideas of the role of crime and fear of crime in influencing relationships with and negative attitudes toward the police. The study was original in testing hypotheses about secondary or vicarious contact among young people.

I found evidence for the importance of developmental processes to understanding the police. I used the theory of social representation to account for the development of social knowledge and to show how knowledge-based judgments replace the naïve (knowledge-free) understandings and judgements that characterise children and younger people. In social

representation theory, the development of knowledge is a process of socialisation in which children are introduced to prevalent ways of thinking and understanding within their social groups. The study suggests that Black African and Black Caribbean pupils form different social groups that are distinct in terms of their levels of internalised racism.

What became clear from the research is that some adolescents simply lack the representational tools to process the police as identity-related material, which would have turned the police into relevant information.

- What is the relationship between perceptions of fair treatment by the police and compliance and inclination to cooperate with them?

This is one of the major contributions made by my thesis: the discussion about legitimacy and procedural justice is, in its current form, largely irrelevant to the experiences and attitudes of young people. Too often in the literature, procedural fairness is equated with or a determinant of legitimacy. This study has shown that, even when adults are the focus, such causality should receive more nuanced treatment. The strength of the study is in challenging the popular paradigm of police legitimacy and the idea that cooperation flows from legitimacy. Instead, I demonstrate the fluid and unpredictable nature of cooperation both in adults and young people at the individual level. However, at the community level, the findings offer support to the group-engagement model, linking procedural justice, social identity and legitimacy (Tyler & Blader, 2003).

The popular procedural justice thesis is not a 'one answer for all', since complex realities prevail and challenge its applicability. Uncovering ethnic groups' histories and collectively shared representations of the police is important, as it colours interactions with the police. Even so, this type of information should be applied cautiously, as ethnicity or ethnic affiliation does not conclusively explain variability in attitudes toward the police or underlie relationships with them. Moreover, while attitudes are theoretical constructs and difficult to pin down, we now understand that different processes and levels of explanation underpin judgements about the police.

7.8 Conclusion

These findings advance our understanding of communities' and individuals' relations with the police. The recent (post-1990) waves of immigration pose great challenges to police work. Police duties experienced in the first decade of the twenty-first century have been greatly transformed; they now include dealing with many newcomers who live in inner cities affected by industrial decline, deprivation and spatial segregation.

I hope that this study's insights will be revisited when others consider the challenges ahead and see schools as sites of change and inclusion that challenge negative representations, whether of police or citizenship. It is difficult to determine where, when and how animosity toward the police begins, since social representations tend to be both cause and effect ('we' make use of what 'they' think of us as identity-relevant resources, but the 'we' and the 'they' are often endogenous). There is the danger of over-discretion in police practices being used against vulnerable communities and thereby criminalising them. It is possible that in the current context of popular anxieties, including those about migration, negative representations of new social groups and of the police will become fixed.

Although this is a case study, it can fill gaps in previous research by capturing issues that are poorly represented or overlooked, and it can raise questions for future investigation. I reviewed different levels of influence on police/ethnic minority relationships as measured by attitudes and shared representations. In the survey, I refined ethnic categories, suggesting that a more sophisticated differentiation between ethnicities is possible. Yet, I found that ethnicity explained very little of general attitudes toward the police and none of specific attitudes. Additionally, I found that young people formed opinions of the police based on officers' performance, efficiency and effectiveness rather than fair treatment.

Following on from my two levels of investigation, I have shown that relations between ethnic minorities and police intertwine both structural and individual mechanisms: rooted in socially constructed representations and reflecting power relations, attitudes are also informed by individuals' development, context, and interpretive structures.

REFERENCES & BIBLIOGRAPHY

1990 Trust (1990), *Stop and Search: The views and experiences of Black communities on complaining to the Police.* London: Metropolitan Police Authority.

1990 Trust (2004), *Stop and Search: A community evaluation of recommendation 61 in the London Borough of Hackney*. London: 1990 Trust.

Aboud, F. (1988), *Children and Prejudice*. Oxford: Blackwell.

ACPO (2009), *Single Police Confidence Target*. U.K. Police News – Police Oracle. London: ACPO.

ACPO (2009), *Prevent, police and schools*: Guidance for police officers & police staff to help colleges contribute to the prevention of terrorism. London: ACPO.

Adelson, J. (1971), 'The Political Imagination of the Young Adolescent', *Daedalus,* 100:1013-1050.

Agnew, R. (2003), 'An Integrated Theory of The Adolescent Peak in Offending', *Youth & Society,* 34(3):263–299.

Ajzen, I. & Fishbein, M. (1980), *Understanding Attitudes and Predicting Social Behavior.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Alderson, J. (1977), *Communal Policing*. Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Constabulary.

Alderson, J. (1979), *Policing Freedom*. Plymouth: Macdonald and Evans.

Alexander, C. & Knowles, C. (2005), *Making Race Matter: Bodies, Space and Identity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Alexander, C. (1996), *The Art of Being Black: The Creation of Black British Youth Identities.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Allen, J., Edmonds, S., Patterson, A. & Smith, D. (2006), *Policing and the Criminal Justice System – Public Confidence and Perceptions: Findings from the 2004/05 British Crime Survey*. London: The Home Office.

Allen, J., El Komy, M., Lovbakke, J. & Roy, H. (2005), *Policing and the Criminal Justice System – public confidence and perceptions: Findings from the 2003/04 British Crime Survey.* London: The Home Office. Home Office Online Report. 31/05. Retrieved from http://library.college.police.uk/docs/hordsolr/rdsolr3105.pdf

Allport, G. W. (1954), *The Nature of Prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Allum, N., Patulny, R., Read, S. & Sturgis P. (2010), 'Re-evaluating the links between social trust, political trust and civic association in Europe', in J. Stillwell, P. Norman, C. Thomas & P. Surridge (eds). *Spatial and Social Disparities*. London: Springer.

Anderson, E. (1999), *Code of the Street*. New York: Norton.

Andreouli, E. (2010), 'Identity, positioning and self-other relations', *Papers on Social Representations,* 19(1): 14.1-14.13.

Andreouli, E. & Chryssochoou, X. (2015), 'Social representations of national identity in culturally diverse societies', in G. Sammut, E. Andreouli, G. Gaskell & J. Valsiner (eds). *The Cambridge Handbook of Social Representations.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Anthias, F., & Yuval-Davis, N. (2005), *Racialized boundaries: Race, nation, gender, colour and class and the anti-racist struggle*. Routledge.

Apple, N. & O'Brien, D.J. (1983). 'Neighborhood racial composition and residents' evaluation of police performance'*, Journal of Police Science and Administration,* 11 (1): 76-84.

Ashmore, R., Jussim, L. & Wilder, D. (2001), *Social Identity, Intergroup Conflict, and Conflict Reduction*. USA: Oxford University Press.

Ashmore, R.D., Deaux, K., & McLaughlin-Volpe, T. (2004), 'An organizing framework for collective identity: articulation and significance of multidimensionality', *Psychological Bulletin,* 130 (1): 80-114.

Assmann, J. & Czaplicka, J. (1995), 'Collective memory and cultural identity'*, New German Critique,* 65:125–134.

Attride-Stirling, J. (2001). 'Thematic networks: an analytic tool for qualitative research', *Qualitative Research*, 1 (3): 385-405.

Augoustinos, M., Walker, I. & Donaghue, N. (2006), Social cognition: an integrated introduction. *Social Cognition*. London: Sage Publications.

Bagci, S. C., Kumashiro, M., Smith, P. K., Blumberg, H. & Rutland, A. (2014), 'Cross-ethnic friendships: Are they really rare? Evidence from secondary schools around London', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* 41:125–137.

Bandura, A. (1990), 'Selective activation and disengagement of moral control'*, Journal of Social Issues,* 46 (1) 26–46.

Bandura, A. (1997), *Self-efficacy: The exercise of control*. New York: Freeman.

Bandura, A. (2001), 'Social cognitive theory: an agentic perspective', *Annual Review of Psychology,* 52:1–26.

Bandura, A., Barbaranelli, C., Caprara, G. V. & Pastorelli, C. (1996), 'Mechanisms of moral disengagement in the exercise of moral agency', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 71(2): 364–374.

Banks, J. A. (2006), 'Improving race relations in schools: From theory and research to practice', *Journal of Social Issues,* 62(3): 607-614.

Bauer, M., & Gaskell, G. (1999), 'Towards a paradigm for research on social representations', *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour,* 29 (2): 163-186.

Bauer, M., & Gaskell, G. (2008), 'Social representations theory: a progressive research programme', *Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior,* 38 (4):335-353.

Bauman, Z. (2012), *This Is Not a Diary*. Oxford: Polity Press.

Baumrind, D. (1987), 'A developmental perspective on adolescent risk taking in contemporary America'*, New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development,* (37): 93–125.

Beetham, D. (1991), *The legitimation of power*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Bellmore, A. D., Nishina, A., Witkow, M. R., Graham, S. & Juvonen, J. (2007), 'The influence of classroom ethnic composition on same-and other-ethnicity peer nominations in middle school'*, Social Development,* 16(4): 721–740.

Bennett, T. (1991), 'The Effectiveness of a Police-Initiated Fear-Reducing Strategy', *The British Journal of Criminology*, 31 (1): 1-14

Berger, P. & Luckmann, T. (1966), *The Social Construction of Reality*. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books.

Bersani, B. E. (2012), 'An examination of First and second generation immigrant offending trajectories'*, Justice Quarterly,* 31(2):1-29.

Bhabha, H (ed.) (1990), *Nation and Narration.* London: Routledge.

Bhabra, S., Hill, E. & Ghate, D. (2004), *National Evaluation of the Safer School Partnerships Programme.* London: Youth Justice Board for England and Wales.

Black, C., Homes, A., Diffley, M., Sewel, K. & Chamberlain, V. (2010), *Evaluation of Campus Police Officers in Scottish Schools.* Edinburgh: Scottish Government.

Black, R. (2004), *Migration and Pro-Poor Policy in Africa*. Working Paper C6, Brighton: Sussex Centre for Migration Research.

Bland, N., Miller, J. & Quinton, P. (2000), *Upping the PACE? An evaluation of the recommendations of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report on stops and searches*. Police Research Series paper 128. London: Home Office.

Blau, P. M., Ruan, D. & Ardelt, M. (1991), 'Interpersonal choice and networks in China', *Social Forces,* 69(4): 1037–1062.

Blau, P. M. & Schwartz J. E. (1984), *Crosscutting Social Circles*. Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Blum, T. C. (1984), 'Racial inequality and dalliance: An examination of Blau's theory of social structure'. *Social Forces,* 62 (3): 607–617.

Blumer, H. (1958), 'Race prejudice as a sense of group Position'*, Pacific Sociological Review,* 1:3–7.

Bulmer, M. (1996), The ethnic group question in the 1991 Census of Population. In Coleman D and Salt J (eds). *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census* vol. 1. London: HMSO

Bobo, L. & Hutchings, V. (1996), 'Perceptions of racial group competition: extending Blumer's Theory of Group Position to a multiracial social context', *American Sociological Review,* 61(6): 951.

Bolling, K., Grant, C., Smith, P. & Brown, M. (2004), *2003–4 British Crime Survey (England and Wales) Technical Report Volume 1*. London: Home Office.

Bosworth, M. & Kaufman, E. (2011), 'Foreigners in a carceral age: immigration and imprisonment in the United States', *Stanford Law and Policy Review,* 22(2): 429–454.

Bottoms, A. & Tankebe, J. (2012), 'Criminology: beyond procedural justice: a dialogic approach to legitimacy in criminal justice', *Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology,* 102(1): 119–170.

Bowles, R., Reyes, M. G. & Pradiptyo, R. (2005), *Monitoring and Evaluating the Safer School Partnerships Programme*. London: Youth Justice Board for England and Wales Available online: http://www.york.ac.uk/criminaljustice/documents/SSP_full_report.pdf [19 September, 2011].

Bowling, B. & Phillips, C. (2001/2), *Racism, Crime and Justice*. Harlow: Pearson.

Bowling, B. & Phillips, C. (2003), 'Policing ethnic communities'*,* in T. Newburn (ed.) *Handbook of Policing*, Cullompton: Willan.

Bowling, B., Parmar, A. & Phillips, C. (2008), 'Policing minority ethnic communities'*,* in T. Newburn (ed.). *Handbook of Policing*, 2nd edition (pp. 611–641), Cullompton: Willan

Boyle, A., & Humphreys, S. (2012), *A Revolution in a Decade. Ten out of Ten.* Leannta Publishing.

Bradford, B., Jackson, J., Hough, M. & Farrall, S. (2008), 'Trust and confidence in criminal justice: a review of the British research literature' In Jokinen, A., Ruuskanen, E., Yordanova, M., Markov D., & Ilcheva M. (eds.). *Review of Need: Indicators of Public Confidence in Criminal Justice*.

Bradford, B., Jackson, J. & Stanko, E. (2009), 'Contact and confidence: revisiting the impact of public encounters with the police', *Policing & Society,* 19(1): 20–46.

Bradford, B., Murphy, K. & Jackson, J. (2014), 'Officers as mirrors: policing, procedural justice and the (re)production of social identity', *British Journal of Criminology*, 54(4): 527–550.

Bradford, B., Sargeant, E., Murphy, K. and Jackson J. (2017). 'A Leap of Faith? Trust in the police among immigrants in England and Wales', *British Journal of Criminology,* 57 (2): 381-401.

Bradford, B., Stanko, E. & Jackson, J. (2008), 'Using research to inform policy: the role of public attitude surveys in understanding public confidence and police contact', *Policing: a journal of policy and practice,* 3 (2): 139-148.

Bradford, B. (2011), 'Convergence, not divergence'*, British Journal of Criminology,* 51(1): 179–200.

Bradford, B. (2014), 'Policing and social identity: Procedural justice, inclusion and cooperation between police and public'*, Policing and Society,* 24(1): 22–43.

Bradford District Safer School Partnership (2010), *Evaluation Report*. Bradford: Bradford District Safer Neighbourhoods and Partnerships.

Branch, C. W., Tayal, P., & Triplett, C. (2000), 'The relationship of ethnic identity and ego identity status among adolescents and young adults', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* 24 (6):777–790.

Brandl, S. G., Frank, J., Worden, R. E. & Bynum, T. S. (1994), 'Global and specific attitudes toward the police: disentangling the relationship'*, Justice Quarterly,* 11(1): 119–134.

Brandl, S. G. & Horvath, F. (1991), 'Crime–victim evaluation of police investigative performance', *Journal of Criminal Justice,* 19(3): 293-305.

Brandl, S. G., Stroshine, M. S. & Frank, J. (2001). 'Who are the complaint-prone officers? An examination of the relationship between police officers' attributes, arrest activity, assignment, and citizens' complaints about excessive force'*, Journal of Criminal Justice,* 29(6): 521–529.

Brandl, S. G., Frannk, J. Worden, R.E. & Bynum, T.S. (1994), 'Global and specific attitudes toward the police: disentangling the relationship', *Justice Quarterly'* 11(1): 119–134.

Brandt, D. & Markus, K. (2000), 'Adolescent attitudes towards the police: a new generation'*, Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology,* 15(1): 10–16.

Breakwell, G. M. (1986), *Coping with Threatened Identities.* London and New York: Methuen.

Breakwell, G. M. (1993), 'Social representations and social identity', *Papers on Social Representations,* 2(3): 198–217.

Brehm, J. & Rahn, W. (1997), 'Individual-level evidence for the causes and consequences of social capital', *American Journal of Political Science,* 41(3): 999–1023.

Brick, B. T., Taylor, T. J. & Esbensen, F. A. (2009), 'Juvenile attitudes toward the Police: The importance of subcultural involvement and community ties'*, Journal of Criminal Justice,* 37(5): 488–495.

Briers, A. (2004), *Safer School Communities: Working in Partnership with School Based Police Officers.* London: Middlesex University Press.

Briggs, X. D. S. (1998), 'Brown kids in white suburbs: Housing mobility and the many faces of social capital', *Housing Policy Debate*, 9 (1):177–221.

Bronfenbrenner, U., & Condry, J. C. (1970), *Two worlds of childhood; U.S. and U.S.S.R*. New York, Russell Sage Foundation.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979), 'The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design', *American Psychologist, 32*:513-531.

Brown, B. & Benedict, W. (2002), 'Perceptions of the police: Past findings, methodological issues, conceptual issues and police implementations'*, Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management,* 25(3): 543–580.

Brown B. (2004), 'Adolescents' relationships with peers', In: Lerner R, Steinberg L, editors. *Handbook of adolescent psychology*. 2nd ed. New York: Wiley.

Brown, R. & Hewstone, M. (2005), 'An integrative theory of intergroup contact', *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 37: 255–343.

Browning, C. R., Feinberg, S. L. & Dietz, R. D. (2004), 'The paradox of social organization: networks, collective efficacy, and violent crime in urban neighborhoods', *Social Forces*, 83(2): 503–534.

Bruner, J. S. (1996), *The Culture of Education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Brunson, R. K. (2007), 'Police Don't Like Black People': African-American Young Men's Accumulated Police Experiences', *Criminology & Public Policy*, 6(1): 71–101.

Brunson, R. K. & Miller, J. (2006a)' 'Gender, race, and urban policing: The experience of African American youths'*, Gender and Society*, 20(4): 531–552.

Brunson, R. K. & Miller, J. (2006b), 'Young Black Men and Urban Policing in the United States', *British Journal of Criminology,* 46(4): 613–640.

Brunton-Smith, I. & Sturgis P. (2011), 'Do neighborhoods generate fear of crime? An empirical test using the British Crime Survey', *Criminology,* 49 (2): 331–369.

Bucerius, S. M. (2011), 'Immigrants and crime', in M. Tonry (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Crime and Criminal Justice* (pp. 385–419). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bulmer, M. & Solomos, J. (2004), *Researching Race and Racism*. London: Routledge.

Burgess, J. (2006), 'Safer Schools Partnerships', *Criminal Justice Monthly,* 63(1): 24–39.

Bursik, R. & H. Grasmick. (1993), *Neighborhoods and Crime: The Dimensions of Effective Community Control*. San Francisco, CA: Lexington Books.

Bursik Jr., R. J. (1999), 'The Informal Control of Crime through Neighborhood Networks', *Sociological Focus,* 32(1): 85–97.

Cao, L., Frank J. & Cullen, F. T. (1996), 'Race, Community Context and Confidence in the Police', *American Journal of Police*, 15(1): 3–22.

Carter, D. L. (2002), *The Police and the Community*. 7th edition. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Carter, D. L. (1985), 'Hispanic perception of police performance: an empirical assessment', *Journal of Criminal Justice,* 13(6): 487–500.

Casey, B.J. (2015), 'Beyond simple models of self-control to circuit-based accounts of adolescent behavior', *Annual Review of Psychology*, 66:295-319.

Cashmore, E. & Troyna, B. (1982), *Black Youth in Crisis*. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Cerdá, M., Morenoff, J. D., Hansen, B. B., Tessari Hicks, K. J., Duque, L. F., Restrepo, A. & Diez-Roux, A. V. (2012), 'Reducing violence by transforming neighborhoods: a natural experiment in Medellín, Colombia', *American Journal of Epidemiology,* 175(10): 1045–1053.

Cheurprakobkit, S. (2000), 'Police–citizen contact and police performance: attitudinal differences between Hispanics and non-Hispanics'*, Journal of Criminal Justice*, 28(1): 325–336.

Chow, H. P. H. (2011), 'Adolescent attitudes toward the police in a western Canadian city*', Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management,* 7 (1): 508–523.

Clancy, A., Hough, M., Aust, R. & Kershaw, C. (2001), *Crime, Policing and Justice: The experience of ethnic minorities*. Findings from the 2000 British Crime Survey. Home Office: London.

Cohen, J. (1988), *Statistical Power Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences*, 2nd Edition. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Cohen, S. (1972), *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*. London: Routledge.

Cohn, E. S. & White, S. O. (1990), *Legal Socialization: A study of norms and rules.* New York: Springer.

Cohn, E. S., Trinkner, R. J., Rebellon, C. J., Van Gundy, K. T., & Cole, L. M. (2012), 'Legal attitudes and legitimacy: Extending the integrated legal socialization model', *Victims and Offenders,* 7(4):385-406.

Cohn, E. S., & White, S. O. (1990), *Legal socialization: A study of norms and rules*. New York: Springer.

Cohn, E. S., & White, S. O. (1992), 'Taking reasoning seriously'. In F. Adler & W. Laufer (Eds.), *Advances in criminological theory* (3: 95-114). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Coleman, J. S. (1961), *The Adolescent Society.* Oxford: Free Press of Glencoe.

Coleman, J. S. (1988), 'Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital'*, American Journal of Sociology,* 94: Supplement: Organizations and Institutions: Sociological and Economic Approaches to the Analysis of Social Structure, pp. S95–S120.

College of Policing (2014), *Hate Crime Operational Guidance*. Coventry: College of Policing Limited.

Colvin, M., Cullen, F. T. & Ven, T. V. (2002), 'Coercion, Social Support, and Crime: An Emerging Theoretical Consensus'*, Criminology,* 40(1): 19–42.

Commission for Racial Equality. (1996), *Roots of the Future: Ethnic diversity in the making of Britain.* London: Commission for Racial Equality 1-85442-179-4.

Communities That Care. (2005), *Findings from the Safer London Youth Survey 2004*. London: Communities That Care.

Cook, A., Metin S. & Genc, U. (2001), *The Life Coloured Pink: A study into the marriage and relationship support service needs of the Turkish/Kurdish community living in Hackney*, *London*. London: Family Welfare Association.

Cooke, C. A. (2005), 'Issues concerning visibility and reassurance provided by the new 'policing family*''*, *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology,* 15(3): 229–240.

Correia, M. E. (2010), 'Determinants of attitudes toward police of Latino immigrants and non-immigrants'*, Journal of Criminal Justice*, 38(1): 99–107.

Coupe, T. & Griffiths, M. (1999), 'The Influence of Police Actions on Victim Satisfaction in Burglary Investigations'*, International Journal of Sociology of Law*, 27(4): 413–431.

Cox, E. P. (1980)., 'The optimal number of response alternatives for a scale: a review', *Journal of Marketing Research,* 17(4): 407–442.

Crawford, A., (2007), 'Reassurance policing: feeling is believing', in A. Henry and D. J. Smith (eds). *Transformations of Policing.* Aldershot: Avebury.

Crawford, A., Blackburn, S., Lister, S. & Shepherd, P. (2004), *Patrolling with a Purpose: An Evaluation of Police Community Support Officers in Leeds and Bradford.* Leeds: Centre for Criminal Justice Studies, University of Leeds.

Crawford, A. & Lister S. C. (2007), *The Use and Impact of Dispersal Orders: Sticking Plasters and Wake-Up Calls*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Creswell, J. W. & Plano Clark, V. L. (2011), *Designing and Conducting Mixed-methods Research*. 2nd edition. London: Sage.

Csed, M. (2004), *Public Satisfaction with Police Contact - Part II: Self-Initiated Contacts: Findings from the 2002-03 ACPR National Survey of Community Satisfaction with Policing.* Australasian Centre for Policing Research (9).

CST. (2013), *Antisemitic Incidents Report 2013*. Available online: https://cst.org.uk/data/file/5/c/Incidents-Report-2013.1425053045.pdf [accessed July 2016]

Cubbin, C., LeClere F. B. & Smith G. S. (2000), 'Socioeconomic status and injury mortality: individual and neighbourhood determinants', *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 54(7): 517–524.

Cullen, F. (1994), Social support as an organizing concept for criminology: Presidential address to the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences', *Justice Quarterly,* 11(4): 528–559.

Cunneen, C. (2001), 'Conflict, Politics and Crime: Aboriginal Communities and the Police' *in* Allen & Unwin Walklate, *Gender, Crime and Criminal Justice*, Cullompton: Willan.

Damon, W. (1977), *The Social World of the Child.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Dann, S. & Hinchliff, E. (2009), Confidence in Policing: A Hackney Case Study, *Policing*, 3(4): 318–321.

Darling, N., Cumsille, P. & Martìnez, M.L. (2008), 'Individual differences in adolescents' beliefs about the legitimacy of parental authority and their own obligation to obey', *Child Development,* 79(4): 1103-1118.

Datesman, S. K. (1982), 'Impact of delinquency on adolescent attitudes and self-image', in V. Swigert (ed*.), Law and Legal Process* (pp. 119–130). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Davis, R. & Hendricks, M. (2007), 'Immigrant and the Law Enforcement: A Comparison of Native-Born and Foreign-Born Americans' Opinions of the Police', *International Review of Victimology*, 14(1): 81–94.

Davis, R. & Mateu-Gelabert, P. (2000), 'Effective Police Management Affects Citizen Perceptions', *National Institute of Justice Journal,* 7: 24–25.

De Vaus, D. A. (2001), *Research Design in Social Research*. London: Sage.

Decker, S.H. (1981), 'Citizen attitudes toward the police: a review of past findings and suggestions for future policy', *Journal of Police Science and Administration,* 9: 80-87.

Department for Children, Schools and Families: (2009), *Safer School Partnerships Guidance.* Available at: http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130401151715/http://www.education.gov.uk/publications/eorderingdownload/safer_schools_guidance.pdf [Accessed 8 April 2015].

Department for Education and Skills (2006), Safer School Partnership Mainstreaming. Department for Education and Skills. Available at: http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20120106151838/https://www.education.gov.uk/publications/eOrderingDownload/Safer_Schools_Guidance.pdf [Accessed 8 April 2015].

Department for Education (2015), *The Prevent Duty Departmental Advice for Schools and Childcare Providers.* Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/439598/prevent-duty-departmental-advice-v6.pdf [Accessed 16 May 2016]

Dijk, J. J. M. Van. (2001), 'Attitudes of Victims and Repeat Victims toward the Police: Results of the International Crime Victims Survey', *Crime Prevention Studies,* 12: 27–52.

Dirikx, A. & Van den Bulck, J. (2014), 'Media Use and the Process-based Model for Police Cooperation: An Integrative Approach toward Explaining Adolescents' Intentions to Cooperate with the Police', *British Journal of Criminology,* 54(2): 344–346.

Drake, L.M. & Simper, R. (2005), 'The measurement of police force efficiency: an assessment of UK Home Office policy', *Contemporary Economic Policy,* 23(4): 465–482.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1903), *The Souls of Black Folk.* New York: Dover Publications.

Durkheim, E. (1912/1995), *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. New York: The Free Press.

Duveen, G. & De Rosa, A.S. (1992), 'Social representations and the genesis of social Knowledge', *On-Going Productions on Social Representations,* 1 (2-3) 94-108.

Duveen, G. (1993), 'The Development of Social Representations of Gender', *Papers on Social Representations,* 3(2): 171–177.

Duveen, G. (2001), 'Representations, identities, resistance', in K. Deaux & G. Philogène (eds), *Representations of the Social: Bridging Theoretical Traditions* (pp. 257-270). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers

Duveen, G. & Psaltis, C. (2008), 'The constructive role of asymmetries in social interaction', in U. Mueller. Carpendale, N. Budwig & B. Sokol (eds). *Social Life and Social Knowledge: Toward a Process Account of Development* (pp. 183–204). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Duveen, G. & Lloyd, B. (1990), *Social Representations and the Development of Knowledge*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eades, C. (2006), *Knife Crime: Ineffective Reactions to a Distracting Problem? A Review of Evidence and Policy*. London: Centre for Crime and Justice Studies.

Eagly, A. H., & Chaiken, S. (1998), 'Attitude Structure and Function' In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *The Handbook of Social Psychology* (4th ed., pp. 269-322). New York: Oxford University Press.

Easton, D. & Dennis J. (1969), *Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Eck, J. (1983), *Solving Crimes: The Investigation of Burglary and Robbery*. Washington DC: Police Executive Research Forum.

Elliot, C. & Ellingworth, D. (1997), 'Assessing the Representativeness of the 1992 British Crime Survey: The Impact of Sampling Error and Response Biases'*, Sociological Research Online,* 2(4): 1–12.

Emler, N. (1987), 'Socio-moral development from the perspective of social representations', *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour,* 17(4): 371–388.

Emler, N., Ohana, J. & Dickinson, J. (1990), 'Children's representations of social relations', in G. Duveen & B. Lloyd (eds), *Social Representations and the Development of Knowledge* (pp. 47–69). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Emler, N. & Reicher, S. D. (1987), 'Orientations to institutional authority and adolescence', *Journal of Moral Education,* 16(2): 108–116.

Engel, R. S. (2005), 'Citizens' Perceptions of Distributive and Procedural Injustice During Traffic Stops with Police'*, Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency,* 42(4): 445–481.

Enneli, P., Modood, T., & Bradley, H. K. (2005), Young Turks and Kurds: A Set of Invisible Disadvantaged Groups. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Equality and Human Rights Commission. (2010), *Race Disproportionality in Stops and Searches under Section 60 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994*. Research Briefing Paper 5. Manchester: Equality and Human Rights Commission.

Erikson, E. (1968), *Youth: Identity and Crisis*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.

Fagan, J. (2008), 'Legitimacy and Cooperation: Why Do People Help the Police Fight Crime in Their Communities?', *Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law,* 6:231–275.

Fagan, J. & Tyler, T. R. (2005), 'Legal socialization of children and adolescents', *Social Justice Research*, 18(3): 217–241.

Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Lang, A. G., & Buchner, A. (2007), 'G* power 3: a flexible statistical power analysis program for the social, behavioral, and biomedical sciences', *Behavior Research Methods, 39*(2):175-191.

Feagin J. R. & Sikes, M. P. (1994), *Living with Racism: The Black Middle-Class Experience.* Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Field, A (2005/9), *Discovering Statistics Using SPSS*. London: Sage Publications.

Fielding, N. & Innes, M. (2006), 'Reassurance Policing, Community Policing and Measuring Police Performance', *Policing and Society,* 16(2): 127–145.

Fielding, N. (2009), *Getting the Best out of Community Policing*. London: The Police Foundation.

Fishbein, M. (1967), 'A behavior theory approach to the relations between beliefs about an object and the attitude toward the object', in M. Fishbein (ed.), *Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement* (pp. 389–400). New York: Wiley.

Fishbein, M. & Ajzen, I. (1975), *Belief, Attitude, Intention, and Behavior: An introduction to theory and research*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

FitzGerald, M. (2010), 'A confidence trick?', *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice,* 4(3): 298–301.

FitzGerald, M., Hough, M., Joseph, I. & Qureshi, T. (2002), *Policing for London.* Cullompton: Willan.

FitzGerald, M. & O'Connor, L. (2004), *Safer School Partnerships (SSP) in the London Borough of Southwark: An Evaluation of Implementation and Impact*. London: Metropolitan Police Service.

FitzGerald, M. & Sibbitt, R. (1997), *Ethnic Monitoring in Police Forces: A Beginning*. Home Office Research Study 173. London: Home Office.

Fletcher, H., Providence, B., Mulixidwa, J. & Asafo-Agyei, H. (2002), *Race, Discrimination and the Criminal Justice System.* Available from Blink.org.uk/abpoa.html

Flexon, J. L., Lurigio, A. J. & Greenleaf, R. G. (2009), 'Exploring the dimensions of trust in the police among Chicago juveniles', *Journal of Criminal Justice,* 37(2): 180–189.

Foley, M. W., Edwards B. & Diani, M. (2001), 'Social capital reconsidered', in B. Edwards, M. W. Foley & M. Diani (eds). *Beyond Tocqueville: Civil Society and the Social Capital Debate in Comparative Perspective* (pp. 266–281). Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.

Foster, J., Newburn, T. & Souhami, A. (2005), *Assessing the Impact of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry.* London: Home Office.

Fox, K. A., Nobles, M. R. & Piquero, A. R. (2009), 'Gender, crime victimization and fear of crime', *Security Journal,* 22(1): 24–39.

Frank, J., Brandl, S., Cullen, F. T. & Stichman, A. (1996), 'Reassessing the impact of race on citizens' attitudes toward the police: a research note', *Justice Quarterly,* 13(2): 321–334.

Frank, J., Smith, B. V. & Novak, K. J. (2005), 'Exploring the basis of citizens' attitudes towards the police', *Police Quarterly,* 8(2): 206–228.

Fraser, N. (1998), 'From redistribution to recognition? Dilemmas of justice in a "post-socialist" age', in A. Phillips, *Feminism and Politics,* Oxford Readings in Feminism (pp. 430–460). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fraser, N. (1996), *Justice Interruptus: Critical Reflections on the 'Postsocialist' Condition*. London: Routledge.

Fraser, N. (2003a), 'Social justice in the age of identity politics: redistribution, recognition, and participation', in N. Fraser & A. Honneth (eds). *Redistribution or Recognition? A Political-Philosophical Exchange* (pp. 7–109), New York: Verso.

Fraser, N. (2003b), 'Distorted beyond all recognition. a rejoinder to Axel Honneth', in N. Fraser & A. Honneth, *Redistribution or Recognition? A Political-Philosophical Exchange* (pp. 198–236), New York: Verso.

Freedman, M. (1993), *The Kindness of Strangers: Adult mentors, urban youth and the new voluntanism*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

French, S. E., Seidman, E., Allen, L. & Aber, J. L. (2006), 'The development of ethnic identity during adolescence', *Developmental Psychology,* 42(1): 1–10.

Freud, S. (1904/1938), *The psychopathology of everyday life.* In the Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud, New York: Random House.

Friedman, H. H., Wilamowsky, Y. & Friedman, L. W. (1981), 'A comparison of balanced and unbalanced rating scales'*, The Mid-Atlantic Journal of Business,* 19(2): 1–7.

Fukuyama, F. (1995), *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity*, New York: The Free Press.

Fullilove, M. T. (1996), 'Psychiatric implications of displacement: contributions from the psychology of place', *American Journal of Psychiatry,* 153(12): 1516–1523.

Fung, A. (2004), *Empowered Deliberation: Reinventing Urban Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Furlong, A. & Cartmel, F. (1997), *Young People and Social Change: Individualisation and Risk in the Age of High Modernity*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Furth, H.G. (1980), *The World of Grown-ups*. New York: North-Holland.

Gabbidon, S. L., Higgins, G. E. & Potter, H. (2011), 'Race, Gender, and the Perception of Recently Experiencing Unfair Treatment by the Police: Exploratory Results from an All-Black Sample', *Criminal Justice Review,* 36(1): 5–21.

Gallagher, C., Maguire, E. R., Mastrofski, S. D. & Reisig, M. D. (2001), *The Public Image of the Police: Final report to the International Association of Chiefs of Police.* Manassas, VA: George Mason University.

Garland, D. (1996), 'The Limits of the Sovereign State', *British Journal of Criminology,* 36(4): 445–471.

Garland, J., Spalek, B. & Chakraborti, N. (2006), 'Hearing lost voices: issues in researching 'hidden' minority ethnic communities', *British Journal of Criminology,* 46(3): 423–437.

Garland, R. (1991), 'The mid-point on a rating scale: is it desirable?', *Marketing Bulletin,* 2: 66-70, Research Note 3.

Garofalo, J. (1981), 'The Fear of Crime: Causes and consequences', *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology,* 72(2): 839–857.

Gartner, Lloyd D. (2001), *The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870–1914*. 3rd edition. London: Vallentine Mitchel.

Gau, J.M. & Brunson, R.K. (2009), 'Procedural Justice and Order Maintenance Policing: A Study of Inner-City Young Men's Perceptions of Police Legitimacy', *Justice Quarterly,* (1)1-25.

Gervais, M.C., & Jovchelovitch, S. (1998), 'Health and identity: The case of the Chinese community in England', *Social Science Information,* 37(4):709-729.

Gibson, H. B. (1967), 'Self-reported Delinquency among Schoolboys, and Their Attitudes to the Police', *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology,* 6(3): 168–173.

Giddens, A. (1990), *The Consequences of Modernity*. Stanford, CT: Stanford University Press.

Gieryn, T. F. (2000), 'A Space for Place in Sociology', *Annual Review of Sociology,* 26: 463–496.

Gilroy, P (1987), *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation*, London: Hutchinson.

Gillespie, A. & Zittoun, T. (2010), 'Using resources: conceptualizing the mediation and reflective use of tools and signs', *Culture and Psychology,* 16(1): 37–62.

Giordano, P. C. (1976), 'The Sense of Injustice? An Analysis of Juveniles' Reactions to the Justice System', *Criminology,* 14(1): 93–112.

Giordano, P. C. (2003), 'Relationships in Adolescence', *Annual Review of Sociology,* 29: 257–281.

Girling, E., Loader, I. & Sparks, R. (2000), *Crime and Social Control in Middle England: Questions of Order in an English Town*. London: Routledge.

Gitterman, A., & Germain, C. (2008), *The Life Model of Social Work Practice: Advances in Theory and Practice (Third Edition)*. Columbia University Press.

GLA. (2009), *Turkish, Kurdish and Turkish Cypriot Communities in London*. London: Greater London Authority.

GLA. (2009), *Young Londoners' Survey 2009*. ICM Research. Available online: http://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/gla-young-londoners-survey-2009

GLA. (2016), *Economic Evidence Base for London*. London: Greater London Authority.

Glaser, B. G. & Strauss, A. L. (1967), *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

Glass, J., Bengtson, V. L., & Dunham, C. C. (1986), 'Attitude similarity in three-generation families: Socialization, status inheritance, or reciprocal influence?', *American Sociological Review,* 51(5):685–98.

Gobineau, A. (1853), *The Inequality of Human Races* translated by Adrian Collins London: William Heinemann.

Goffman, A. (2014), *On the Run: Fugitive Life in an American City*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Gordon-Larsen, P., Nelson, M. C., Page, P. & Popkin, B. M. (2006), 'Inequality in the Built Environment Underlies Key Health Disparities in Physical Activity and Obesity'*, Pediatrics,* 117(2): 417–424.

Gottlieb, B. & Sylvestre, J. C. (1994), 'Social Support in the Relationship Between Older Adolescents and Adults', in F. Nestmann & K. Hurrelmann (eds). *Social Networks and Social Support in Childhood and Adolescence* (pp. 50–73). New York: de Gruyter.

Graham, J & Bowling, B. (1995), *Young People and Crime*. Home Office Research Study No. 145. London: HMSO

Graham, J. A. & Cohen, R. (1997), 'Race and Sex as Factors in Children's Sociometric Ratings and Friendship Choices', *Social Development,* 6(3): 355–372.

Grant, C., Harvey, A., Bolling, K. & Clemens, S. (2006), *2004-5 British Crime Survey (England and Wales) Technical Report*. London: Home Office.

Grieve, J. G. D., & French, J. (2000), 'Does Institutional Racism Exist in the Metropolitan Police Service?' In. Green, D. G., Grieve, J. G. D., French, J., Ignatieff, M., O'Brien, M. and Skidelsky, R. ed. (2000). *Institutional Racism and the Police: Fact or Fiction*? Trowbridge: The Cromwell Press.

Griffiths, C.T. & Winfree, L.T. (1982), 'Attitudes toward the Police – A Comparison of Canadian and American Adolescents'*, International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice,* 6:128–141.

Guerra, N. G. & Slaby, R. L. (1990), 'Cognitive mediators of aggression in adolescent offenders: II. Intervention', *Developmental Psychology,* 26(2): 269–277.

Hackney Council (2011). *Fact Sheet*. Available online: http://www.teamhackney.org/facts-and-figures_hackney.pdf

Hackney Council (2012), *City and Hackney Health and Wellbeing Profile 2011/12.* Available online: http://www.hackney.gov.uk/Assets/Documents/City-and-Hackney-Health-and-Wellbeing-Profile-2011-12.pdf

Hackney Council (2013), *State of the Borough Report*. Available online: http://www.hackney.gov.uk/Assets/Documents/Reduce-Child-Poverty-and-improve-Family-Well-being.pdf

Hackney Council (2013), *Ethnicity, Identity, Language and Religion in Hackney.* Available online: https://www.hackney.gov.uk/media/2667/Ethnicity-national-identity-religion-and-language-in-Hackney/doc/Ethnicity_Identity_Religion_Language_-_Census_Analysis_Paper1.

Hackney Council (2014), Child Poverty Needs Assessment 2014. Available online: https://www.hackney.gov.uk/cyps-needs-assessment

Hackney Council (2016), London Borough of Hackney Statement of Accounts 2015/16. Available online: https://www.hackney.gov.uk/accounts

Hagan, J., Shedd, C. & Payne, M. R. (2005), 'Race, Ethnicity, and Youth Perceptions of Criminal Justice', *American Sociological Review,* 70(3): 381–407.

Hall, S. (1992), 'New Ethnicities', in Donald and Rattansi (eds) *Race, Culture and Difference* (pp. 252-259). London: Sage.

Hall, S. (1994), 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', in Patrick Williams and L. Chrisman (eds). *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory: A Reader* (pp. 392–401). New York: Columbia University Press.

Hall, S., Critcher, C., Jefferson, T., Clarke, J. & Roberts, B. (1978), *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order*. London: Macmillan.

Hammond, A., Sloboda, Z., Tonkin, P., Stephens, R., Teasdale, B., Grey, S. F. & Williams, J. (2008), 'Do Adolescents Perceive Police Officers as Credible Instructors of Substance Abuse Prevention Programs?', *Health Education Research,* 23(4): 682–696.

Handy, C. (1999), *Understanding Organizations*, 4th edition. London: Penguin Books.

Harris, D. (2002), *Profiles in Injustice: Why Racial Profiling Cannot Work*. New York: New Press.

Havis, S. & Best, D. (2004), *Stop and Search Complaints (2000–2001).* London: Police Complaints Authority.

Hawdon, J. (2008), 'Legitimacy, Trust, Social Capital, and Policing Styles: A Theoretical Statement', *Police Quarterly,* 11(2): 182–201.

Hayes, E. & Ball, J. (2008), *Safer Schools Community Partnership Evaluation 2008.* Available online: https://www.westsussex.gov.uk/idoc.ashx?docid=d23e61fd-eae9-4a41-bb54-8e55edfb491f&version=-1

Haynie, D. L. & Payne, D. C. (2006), 'Race, Friendship Networks, And Violent Delinquency', *Criminology*, 44(4): 775–805.

Haynie, D. L., Nansel, T., Eitel, P., Davis-Crump, A., Saylor, K., Yu, K. & Simons-Morton, B. (2001), 'Bullies, Victims, and Bully/Victims: Distinct Groups of at Risk Youth', *Journal of Early Adolescence,* 21(1): 29–49.

Heath, A. F., Fisher, S. D., Rosenblatt, G., Sanders, D. & Sobolewska, M. (2011), *The Political Integration of Ethnic Minorities in Britain*. Oxford University Press.

Hechter, M (1987), *Principles of Group Solidarity*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Heidensohn, F. & Gelsthorpe. L. (2007), 'Gender and crime', in M. Maguire, R. Morgan & R. Reiner. (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, 4th edition (pp. 381–420). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Helms, J. E., & Parham, T. A. (1990), 'Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale (Form RIAS-B)', In J. E. Helms (Ed.), *Black and White racial identity: Theory, research, and practice* (pp. 245–247). New York, NY: Greenwood.

Helms, J. E., & Parham, T. A. (1996), 'The development of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale' in R. L. Jones (Ed.), *Handbook of tests and measurements for Black populations* (Vol. 2, pp. 167–174). Hampton, VA: Cobb & Henry.

Helms, J. E., & Piper, R. E. (1994), 'Implications of racial identity theory for vocational psychology', *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 44(2): 124–138.

Hewstone, M. (2009), 'Living Apart, Living Together? The Role of Intergroup Contact in Social Integration', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 162: 243–300.

Higgins, N., Robb, P. & Britton, A. (2010), 'Geographic patterns of crime', in J. Flatley, C. Kershaw, K. Smith, R. Chaplin, & D. Moon (eds). *Crime in England and Wales, 2009/10* (pp. 165–194). London: Home Office.

Hinds, L. (2007), 'Building Police Youth Relationships: The Importance of Procedural Justice', *Youth Justice,* 7(3): 195–209.

Hinds, L. (2009), 'Youth, Police Legitimacy and Informal Contact', *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology,* 24(1): 10–21.

Hirschfeld, L.A. (1995), 'Do children have a theory of race?', *Cognition*, 54(2): 209-252.

Hirschi, T. (1969), *Causes of Delinquency*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Hogan, R., & Mills, C. (1976), 'Legal socialization', *Human Development*, 19: 261-276.

Holland, M. (2012), 'Chatsworth Road the frontline of Hackney's gentrification'. *The Guardian,* retrieved http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2012/jul/07/chatsworth-road-frontline-hackney-gentrification [Accessed 7th March 2016]

Homant, R. J., Kennedy, D.B. & Fleming, R.M. (1984), 'The Effect of Victimization and the Police Response on Citizens' Attitudes toward the Police', *Journal of Police Science and Administration,* 12(3): 323–332.

Home Office (2003), *Statistics on Race and the Criminal Justice System 2002*. London: Home Office.

Home Office (2004), *Recording of Stops Implementation Guide in Response to Recommendation 61 of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report*. London: Home Office.

Home Office (2013), *Home Office* Statistical Bulletin (2013) *Crimes detected in England and Wales 2012/13.* London: Home Office.

Honneth, A. (1995) (trans. Joel Anderson), *The Struggle for Recognition: The Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Honneth, A. (2003), 'Redistribution as Recognition. A Response to Nancy Fraser', in N. Fraser & A. Honneth, *Redistribution or Recognition? A Political-Philosophical Exchange* (pp. 110–197). New York: Verso.

Honneth, A. & Farrell, J. (1997), 'Recognition and moral obligation', *Social Research,* 64(1): 16–35.

Hopkins, N., Hewstone, M. & Hantzi, A. (1992), 'Police-Schools Liaison and Young People's Image of the Police: An intervention evaluation', *British Journal of Psychology,* 83(2): 203–220.

Hough, M. (2003), 'Modernization and Public Opinion: Some Criminal Justice Paradoxes', *Contemporary Politics,* 9(2): 143–155.

Hough, M (2007a), 'Policing London, Twenty Years On', in A. Henry & D. J. Smith (eds). *Transformations of Policing*. Aldershot: Avebury.

Hough, M. (2007b), 'Policing, New Public Management and legitimacy in Britain', in J. Fagan & T. Tyler (eds). *Legitimacy, Criminal Justice and the Law*. New York, Russell Sage Foundation.

Hough, M., Jackson, J., Bradford, B., Myhill, A. & Quinton, P. (2010), 'Procedural Justice, Trust and Institutional Legitimacy', *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice,* 4(3): 203–210.

House of Commons Education Committee (2014), *Underachievement in Education by White Working Class Children: First Report of Session 2014–15*. London: The Stationery Office.

House of Commons Home Affairs Committee (2007), *Young Black People and the Criminal Justice System: Second Report of Session 2006–07*, Vol. 1. London: The Stationery Office.

Howarth, C. (2002), ‘‘So, You’re from Brixton?’: The Struggle for Recognition and Esteem in a Multicultural Community’, *Ethnicities,* 2(2): 237–260.

Howarth, C. (2006), ‘A social representation is not a quiet thing: exploring the critical potential of social representations theory’, *British Journal of Social Psychology,* 45(1): 65–86.

Howarth, C., & Andreouli, E. (2014), ‘’Changing the context’: tackling discrimination at school and in society’, *International Journal of Educational Development,* 41: 184–191.

Howarth, C., (2011), ‘Representations, identity and resistance in communication’, in D. Hook, B. Franks & M. W. Bauer, (eds). *The Social Psychology of Communication*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Howarth, C., Wagner, W., Magnusson, N. & Sammut, G. (2014), ‘“It’s only other people who make me feel black”: acculturation, identity and agency in a multicultural community’, *Political Psychology,* 35(1): 81–95.

Huang, W. & Vaughn, M. (1996), ‘Support and Confidence: Public Attitudes toward the Police’, in T. J. Flanagan & D. R. Longmire (eds). *Americans View Crime and Justice: A National Public Opinion Survey* (pp. 31–45). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Huesmann, L. R. & Guerra, N. G. (1997), ‘Children’s Normative Beliefs about Aggression and Aggressive Behavior’, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 72(2): 408–419.

Hunte, J. (1966), *Nigger Hunting in England?* London: West Indian Standing Conference.

Hutchinson, J. & Smith, A. D. (1996), *Ethnicity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Huo, Y. J. (2003), ‘Procedural Justice and Social Regulation Across Group Boundaries: Does Subgroup Identity Undermine Relationship-Based Governance?’, *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 29(3): 336–348.

Huo, Y. J., Smith, H. J., Tyler, T. R. & Lind, E. A. (1996), ‘Superordinate Identification, Subgroup Identification, and Justice Concerns: Is Separatism the Problem; Is Assimilation the Answer?’, *Psychological Science*, 7(1): 40–45.

Hurst, Y. G. (2007), ‘Juvenile Attitudes toward the Police: An Examination of Rural Youth’, *Criminal Justice Review,* 32(2): 121–141.

Hurst, Y. G. & Frank, J. (2000), ‘How Kids View Cops: The Nature of Juvenile Attitudes toward the Police’, *Journal of Criminal Justice,* 28(3): 189–202.

Hurst, Y. G., Frank, J. & Browning, S. L. (2000), ‘The Attitudes of Juveniles toward the Police: A Comparison of Black and White Youth’, *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management,* 23(1): 37–53.

Hurst, Y. G., Mcdermott, M. J. & Thomas, D. L. (2005), ‘The Attitudes of Girls toward the Police: Differences by Race’, *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management,* 28(4): 578–593.

Ignatieff, M. (2000), 'Less Race, Please' In. Green, D. G., Grieve, J. G. D., French, J., Ignatieff, M., O'Brien, M. and Skidelsky, R. ed. (2000), *Institutional Racism and the Police: Fact or Fiction?* Trowbridge: The Cromwell Press.

IPPR (Institute for Public and Policy Research) (2010), '*Youth unemployment and the recession*', Technical Briefing. Available at: www.ippr.org.UK

Inhelder, B. & Piaget, J. (1958), *The Growth of Logical Thinking from Childhood To Adolescence*. New York: Basic Books.

Innes, M. (2004a), 'Signal Crimes and Signal Disorders: Notes on deviance as communicative action', *British Journal of Sociology,* 55(3): 335–355.

Innes, M. (2004b), 'Reinventing Tradition?: Reassurance, Neighbourhood Security and Policing', *Criminal Justice,* 4(2): 151–171.

Innes, M. (2006), 'Reassurance and the 'New' Community Policing', *Policing and Society,* 16(2): 95–98.

Iser, M. (2013), 'Recognition', in Edward N. Zalta (ed.). *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Available online: http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2013/entries/recognition

Jacob, H. (1971), 'Black and White Perceptions of Justice in the City', *Law and Society Review,* 6: 69–90.

Jackson, J. (2004), 'Experience and Expression: Social and Cultural Significance in the Fear of Crime', *British Journal of Criminology,* 44(6): 946–966.

Jackson, J. & Bradford, B. (2009), 'Crime, Policing and Social Order: On the Expressive Nature of Public Confidence in Policing', *British Journal of Sociology*, 60(3): 493–521.

Jackson, J. & Bradford, B. (2010), 'What Is Trust and Confidence in the Police?', *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice,* 4(3): 241–248.

Jackson, J., Bradford, B., Hohl, K. & Farrall, S. (2009), 'Does the Fear of Crime Erode Public Confidence in Policing?', *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice,* 3(1) 100–111.

Jackson, J., Bradford, B., Hough, M., Myhill, A., Quinton, P. T. & Tyler, T. (2012), 'Why Do People Comply with the Law?: Legitimacy and the Influence of Legal Institutions', *British Journal of Criminology,* 52(6): 1051–1071.

Jackson, J., Farrall, S. & Gray, E. (2007), *Experience and Expression in the Fear of Crime.* Working Paper No. 7.

Jackson, J. & Sunshine, J. (2007), 'Public Confidence in Policing: A Neodurkheimian Perspective', *British Journal of Criminology,* 47(2): 214–233.

Jansson, K. (2006), *Black and Minority Ethnic groups' experiences and perceptions of crime, racially motivated crime and the police: findings from the 2004/05 British Crime Survey*. Home Office Online Report 25/06. London: Home Office.

Jansson, K., Budd, S., Lovbakke, J., Moley, S. & Thorpe, K. (2007), *Attitudes, Perceptions and Risks of Crime*: Supplementary Volume 1 To *Crime in England And Wales 2006/07*. Home Office Statistical Bulletin 19/07. London: Home Office.

Jansson, K. (2008), British Crime Survey: Measuring Crime over 25 Years. London: Home Office.

Jefferson, T. (1993), 'The racism of criminalization: police and the reproduction of the criminal other', in L. R. Gelsthorpe (ed.). *Minority Ethnic Groups in the Criminal Justice System,* Cambridge: The Institute of Criminology, Cambridge University.

Jenkins, R. (2008), *Social Identity* (3rd edition). Abingdon: Routledge.

Jenkins, R (2014), *Social Identity* (4th edition). Abingdon: Routledge.

Jenkins, R. (2000), Categorization: Identity, Social Process and Epistemology. *Current Sociology*, 48(3) 7–25

Joloza, T. (2012), *Measuring National Well-Being – Children's Well-Being*. London: Office for National Statistics.

Jonas, K., Broemer, P., & Diehl, M. (2000), 'Attitudinal ambivalence', *European Review of Social Psychology*, 11:35–74.

Jones, T. & Newburn, T. (2001), *Widening Access: Improving Police Relations with Hard to Reach Groups Report for the Home Office*. Policy Research Series: Paper 138. London: Home Office.

Jones, T. & Newburn, T. (eds) (2006), *Plural Policing: A Comparative Perspective* London: Routledge.

Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2007), *Communities that Care Survey*. Bristol: The Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Kaariainen, J. T. (2007), 'Trust in the Police in 16 European Countries: A Multilevel Analysis', *European Journal of Criminology,* 4(4): 409–435.

Kaasa, S. O., Malloy, L. C. & Cauffinan, E. (2008), 'Procedural Justice and The Adolescent Offender.' Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychology-Law Society. Jacksonville, FL.

Kao, G. & Joyner, K. (2004), 'Do Race and Ethnicity Matter Among Friends?', *Sociological Quarterly,* 45(3): 557–573.

Karstedt, S. (2010), '*Trust in Justice – How Much Do We Need*?', Lecture Delivered at The University of Cambridge Institute of Criminology 26 November 2009.

Kautt, P. (2011), 'Public Confidence in the British Police: Negotiating the Signals from Anglo-American Research', *International Criminal Justice Review,* 21(4): 353–382.

Kautt, P. M. (2011), 'Ethnicity and the British Crime Survey: Issues, Obstacles and Solutions', *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice,* 50(3): 275–288.

Kautt, P. & Tankebe, J. (2011), 'Confidence in the Criminal Justice System in England And Wales: A Test of Ethnic Effects', *International Criminal Justice Review,* 21(2): 93–117.

Kee, C., Sim, K., Teoh, J., Tian, C. S. & Ng, K. H. (2003), 'Individual and Familial Characteristics of Youths Involved in Street Corner Gangs in Singapore', *Journal of Adolescence,* 26(4): 401–412.

Kirk, D. S. & Matsuda, M. (2011), 'Legal cynicism, collective efficacy, and the ecology of arrest', *Criminology,* 49(2): 443–472.

Kirk, D. S. & Papachristos, A. V. (2011), 'Cultural Mechanisms and the Persistence of Neighborhood Violence', *American Journal of Sociology,* 116(4): 1190–1233.

Koenig, D.J. (1980), 'The Effects of Criminal Victimization and Judicial or Police Contacts on Public Attitudes Toward Local Police', *Journal of Criminal Justice,* 8(4): 243–249.

Kohen, D. E., Brooks-Gunn, J., Leventhal, T. & Hertzman, C. (2002), 'Neighborhood Income and Physical and Social Disorder in Canada: Associations with Young Children's Competencies', *Child Development,* 73(6):1844–1860.

Kohlberg, L. (1976), 'Moral Stages and Moralization: The Cognitive Developmental Approach', in T. Lickona (ed.). *Moral Development and Behavior: Theory, Research, and Social Issues* (pp. 31–53). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Kristeva, J. (1982), *Powers of horror: An essay on abjection*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Kroger, J. (2007), *Identity development: Adolescence through adulthood* (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Kroger, J. (2004), *Identity in Adolescence*: *The Balance Between Self and Other* (3rd Ed) London: Routledge.

Laguerre S. M. (2008), *Global Neighborhoods: Jewish Quarters in Paris, London, and Berlin*. New York: SUNY Press.

Lamont, E., Macleod, S. & Wilkin, A. (2011), *Police Officers in Schools: A Scoping Study*. Slough: National Foundation for Educational Research.

Langan, P. A., Greenfeld, L. A., Smith, S. K., Durose, M. R. & Levin, D. J. (2001), *Contacts Between Police and Public: Findings from the 1999 National Survey*. U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Lazarsfeld, P. & Merton, R. K. (1954), 'Friendship as a Social Process: A Substantive and Methodological Analysis', in M. Berger, T. Abel and C. H. Page (eds). *Freedom and Control in Modern Society* (pp. 18–66). New York: Van Nostrand.

Lee, J. M., Steinberg, L. & Piquero, A. R. (2010), 'Ethnic Identity and Attitudes toward the Police among African American Juvenile Offenders', *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 38(4): 781–789.

Leiber, M. J., Nalla, M. K. & Farnworth, M. (1998), 'Explaining Juveniles' Attitudes toward the Police'*, Justice Quarterly*, 15(1): 151–174.

Leman, P. J. & Duveen, G. (1996), 'Developmental Differences in Children's Understanding of Epistemic Authority'*, European Journal of Social Psychology,* 26(5): 683–702.

Levine, F. J. & Tapp, J. L. (1997), 'The Dialectic of Legal Socialization in Community and School', in L. Tapp & F. J. Levine (eds). *Law, Justice & The Individual in Society: Psychological and legal issues* (pp. 163–182). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Levy, K. S. C. (2001), 'The Relationship between Adolescent Attitudes towards Authority, Self-Concept, and Delinquency', *Adolescence,* 36(142): 333–346.

Levy-Bruhl, L. (1949/1975), *The Notebooks on Primitive Mentality*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Lewin, K. (1951), *Field theory in social science.* New York: Harper.

Lin, N. (1986), 'Conceptualizing Social Support', in N. Lin, A. D. & Edsel W. (eds). *Social Support, Life Events, and Depression* (pp. 17–30). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Lind, E. A. & Tyler, T. R. (1988), *The Social Psychology of Procedural Justice*. New York: Plenum. Translated into Japanese. Tokyo: Tuttle-Mori Publishing.

Lindsay, R., Ross, D., Read, J., & Toglia, M. (Eds.). (2007), *The handbook of eyewitness psychology: Vol. 2. Memory for people.* New York: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Loader, I. (1996), *Youth, Policing and Democracy.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Loader, I. & Mulcahy, A. (2003), *Policing and the Condition of England: Memory, Politics and Culture.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lopez, L. & Stack, C. B. (2001), 'Social Capital and the Culture of Power: Lessons from the Field', in S. Saegert, J. P. Thompson & M. R. Warren (eds). *Social Capital and Poor Communities* (pp. 31–59). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Loveday, B. (2005), 'Performance Management: Threat or Opportunity? Current Problems Surrounding the Application of Performance Management to Public Services in England & Wales'*, Public Money & Management,* 25(5): 275–281.

Lowenkamp, C. T., Cullen, F. T. & Pratt, T. C. (2003), 'Replicating Sampson and Groves's Test of Social Disorganization Theory: Revisiting a Criminological Classic', *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency,* 40(4): 351–373.

Lurigio, A. J., Greenleaf, R. G. & Flexon, J. L. (2009), 'The Effects of Race on Relationships with the Police: A Survey of African American and Latino Youths in Chicago', *Western Criminology Review*, 10(1): 29–41.

Lynn, P. (1998), 'The British Crime Survey Sample: A Response to Elliot and Ellingworth', *Sociological Research Online,* 3(1): 1–8.

Maccoby, E. E. (1998), *The Two Sexes: Growing Up Apart, Coming Together.* Cambridge, MA: Belknap.

Macdonald, J. & Strokes, R. J. (2006), 'Race, Social Capital, and Trust in the Police', *Urban Affairs Review,* 41 (3): 358-375.

Macdonald, J., Stokes, R., Ridgeway, G. & Riley, K. J. (2007), 'Race, Neighbourhood Context and Perceptions of Injustice by the Police in Cincinnati', *Urban Studies,* 44(13): 2567–2585.

Macpherson, W. (1999), *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry.* London: The Stationery Office, Command 4262-I.

Maimon, D. & Browning, C. R. (2010), 'Unstructured Socializing, Collective Efficacy, and Violent Behavior among Urban Youth', *Criminology,* 48(2): 443–474.

Marcia, J. E., Waterman, A. S., Matteson, D. R., Archer, S. L., & Orlofsky, J. L. (1993), *Ego identity: A handbook for psychosocial research*. New York: Springer.

Marková, I. (2003), 'Constitution of the Self: Intersubjectivity and Dialogicality', *Culture & Psychology,* 9(3): 249–259.

Marshall, A. & Batten, S. (2004), 'Researching Across Cultures: Issues of Ethics and Power', *Qualitative Social Research Forum,* 5(3): 39.

Mason, J. (2006a), 'Mixing Methods in a Qualitatively-Driven Way', *Qualitative Research,* 6(1): 9–26.

Mason, J. (2006b), *Real Life Methods: Six Strategies for Mixing Methods and Linking Data in Social Science Research.* ESRC National Centre for Research Methods. NCRM Working Paper Series.

Massey, D. S. (1994), 'America's Apartheid and the Urban Underclass', *The Social Service Review*, 68(4): 471–487.

Massey, D. S. (1996), 'The Age of Extremes: Concentrated Affluence and Poverty in the Twenty-First Century', *Demography,* 33(4): 395–412.

Maxson, C., Hennigan, K. & Sloane, D.C. (2003), *Factors That Influence Public Opinion of The Police,* Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, United States Department of Justice.

May, T., Gyateng, T. & Hough, M. (2010), *Differential Treatment in the Youth Justice System.* London: Equalities and Human Rights Commission.

Mayhew, L., Harper, G. & Waples, S. (2011), *Counting Hackney's Population Using Administrative Data. An Analysis of Change Between 2007 and 2011.* London: Neighbourhood Knowledge Management.

Mazerolle, L., Bennett, S., Antrobus, E. & Eggins, E. (2012), 'Procedural Justice, Routine Encounters and Citizen Perceptions of Police: Main Findings from the Queensland Community Engagement Trial (QCET)', *Journal of Experimental Criminology,* 8(4): 343–367.

Mazerolle, L., Wickes, R. & Mcbroom, J. (2010), 'Community Variations in Violence: The Role of Social Ties and Collective Efficacy in Comparative Context', *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency,* 47(1): 3–30.

McGlothlin, H. and Killen. M. (2005), 'Children's perceptions of intergroup and intragroup similarity and the role of social experience', *Applied Developmental Psychology,* 26(6): 680–698.

Mcpherson, M., Smith-Lovin, L. & Cook, J. M. (2001), 'Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks', *Annual Review of Sociology,* 27: 415–444.

McVie, S. (2005), 'Patterns of Deviance underlying the Age-crime Curve', *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 7:1-15.

Medin, D. L. & Ortony, A. (1989), 'Psychological Essentialism', in S. Vosniadou & A. Ortony (eds). *Similarity and Analogical Reasoning* (pp. 179–195). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Metropolitan Police Service (2007), *Safer Neighbourhoods Online Survey*. London: Metropolitan Police Service.

Metropolitan Police Service (2011), *MPS Borough Crime Level 2008/9 Figures*. London: Metropolitan Police Service.

Miller, J., Davis, R., Henderson, N., Markovich, J, Ortiz, C. (2004), *Public Opinion of the Police: The Influence of Friends, Family and New Media*. New York: Vera Foundation.

Millie, A. & Herrington, V. (2005), /Bridging the Gap: Understanding Reassurance Policing*',* *Howard Journal,* 44(1): 41–56.

Millings, M. (2013), 'Policing British Asian Identities: The Enduring Role of the Police in Young British Asian Men's Situated Negotiation of Identity and Belonging', *British Journal of Criminology,* 53(6): 1075–1093.

Moen, P., Erickson, M. A. & Dempster-McClain, D. (1997), 'Their mothers' daughters? The intergenerational transmission of gender attitudes in a world of changing roles', *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* 59: 281-293

Moffitt, T. E. (1993), 'Adolescence-Limited and Life-Course-Persistent Antisocial Behavior: A Developmental Taxonomy', *Psychological Review*,100(4): 674–701.

Moffitt, T. E. (2007), 'A review of research on the taxonomy of life-course persistent versus adolescence-limited antisocial behavior'. In D. J. Flannery, A. T. Vazsonyi, and I. D. Waldman (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of violent behavior and aggression* (pp. 49-74). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Moloney, G., Williams, J., & Blair, D. (2012), 'Cognitive polyphasia, themata and blood donation: Between or within representation', *Papers on Social Representations,* 21: 4.1-4.12.

Monahan, K. C., & Piquero, A. R. (2009), 'Investigating the longitudinal relation between offending frequency and offending variety', *Criminal Justice and Behavior,* 36(7): 653–673.

Morenoff, J. D. & Astor, A. (2006), 'Immigrant Assimilation and Crime: Generational Differences', in R. J. Martinez & A. J. Valenzuela (eds). *Youth Violence in Chicago*. New York: New York University Press.

Morenoff, J. D., Sampson, R. J. & Raudenbush, S. W. (2001), 'Neighborhood Inequality, Collective Efficacy, and the Spatial Dynamics of Urban Violence', *Criminology,* 39(3): 517–559.

Morgan, R. & Leibling, A. (2007)*,*' Imprisonment: An Expanding Scene', in M. Maguire, R. Morgan & R. Reiner, (eds). *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology* (4th edition) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Morgan, R. & Newburn, T. (1998), *The Future of Policing*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
MORI (2009a) *People, Perceptions and Place*. IPSOS MORI. Social Research Institute.

MORI (2009b), *Assessing Hackney's Performance. Results of the Place Survey 2008/09 for London Borough of Hackney and Partners* IPSOS MORI. Social Research Institute.

Morton, S., (1844), *Crania Aegyptiaca; or, Observations on Egyptian ethnography, derived from anatomy, history, and the monuments*. Philadelphia: J. Penington.

Morrow, V. (1999), 'Conceptualising Social Capital in Relation to the Well-Being of Children and Young People: A Critical Review', *Sociological Review*, 47(4): 744–765.

Morrow, V. (2005), 'Ethical Issues in Collaborative Research with Children'*, Ethical Research with Children,* 12: 150–165.

Moscovici, S. (1973), 'Foreword', in C. Herzlich (ed.), *Health and Illness: A Social Psychological Analysis*. London: Academic Press.

Moscovici, S. (1984), 'The phenomenon of social representations', in R. Farr & S. Moscovici (eds). *Social Representations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Moscovici, S. (1984a), 'The myth of the lonely paradigm: A rejoinder', *Social Research*, 51(4) 939-967.

Moscovici, S. (1988), 'Notes towards a description of social representations', *European Journal of Social Psychology,* 18(3):211-250.

Muggah, R. (2014), '*Fragile Cities: Confronting the Changing Landscapes'.* Paper Presented to Violence Conference: Cambridge, September 2014.

Mumford, K. & Power, A. (2003), *East Enders: family and community in east London.* CASE briefs, CASEbrief24. Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion, London, UK.

Murphy, K. & Cherney, A. (2012), 'Understanding Co-Operation with Police in a Diverse Society', *British Journal of Criminology,* 52(1): 181–201.

Murphy, K., Hinds, L. and Fleming, J. (2008), 'Encouraging Cooperation and Public Support for Police', *Policing and Society,* 18(2): 138–157.

Murphy, K., Tyler, T. R. & Curtis, A. (2009), 'Does Procedural Justice Help Authorities When People Question the Underlying Legitimacy of the Law?', *Regulation and Governance,* 3: 1–26.

Murrell, S. A. & Norris, F. N. (1991), 'Differential Social Support and Life Change as Contributors to the Social Class-Distress Relationship in Older Adults', *Psychology and Aging,* 6: 223–231.

Myhill, A. & Beak, K. (2008), *Public Confidence in the Police*. London: National Policing Improvement Agency.

Myhill, A. & Bradford, B. (2011), 'Can Police Enhance Public Confidence by Improving Quality of Service? Results from Two Surveys in England And Wales', *Policing and Society*, 22(4): 397–425.

Myhill, A., Quinton, P., Bradford, B., Poole, A. & Sims, G. (2011), 'It Depends What You Mean by 'Confident': Operationalizing Measures of Public Confidence and the Role of Performance Indicators', *Policing,* 5(2): 114–124.

Nacro (2007), *Effective practice with children and young people who offend* – part 2, Youth Crime Briefing, March 2007, London: Nacro.

Nacro (2009), *Children and young people as victims: the impact on and relationship with offending behaviour*. Youth crime briefing, March 2009.

Nannestad, P., Svendsen, G. T., Dinesen, P. T. and Sønderskov, K. M. (2014), 'Do Institutions or Culture Determine the Level of Social Trust? The Natural Experiment of Migration from Non-western to Western Countries', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 40(4): 544–65.

Narayan, D. (1999), *Bonds and Bridges: Social Capital and Poverty*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

National Research Council and Institute of Medicine. (2009), *Preventing Mental, Emotional, and Behavioral Disorders Among Young People: Progress and Possibilities*. Committee on

the Prevention of Mental Disorders and Substance Abuse Among Children, Youth, and Young Adults: Research Advances and Promising Interventions. Mary Ellen O'Connell, Thomas Boat, and Kenneth E. Warner, (eds). Board on Children, Youth, and Families, Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press

Nelsen, E.A., Eisenberg, N. &Carroll, J.L. (1982), 'The Structure of Adolescents' Attitudes Towards Law and Crime', *The Journal of Genetic Psychology,* 140(1): 47–58.

Newburn, T. (2003), *Handbook of Policing*. Cullompton: Willan.

Nihart, T., Lersch, K. M., Sellers, C. S. & Mieczkowski, T. (2005), 'Kids, Cops, Parents and Teachers: Exploring Juvenile Attitudes toward Authority Figures'*, Western Criminology Review,* 6(1): 79–88.

Nivette, A. E., Eisner, M., Malti, T. & Ribeaud, D. (2014), 'The Social and Developmental Antecedents of Legal Cynicism'*, Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 52(2): 270–298.

Noble, M., Mclennan, D., Wilkinson, K., Whitworth, A., Barnes, H. & Dibben, C. (2008), *The English Indices of Deprivation 2007.* London: Department for Communities and Local Government.

Norman, J. (2009), 'Seen and Not Heard: Young People's Perceptions of the Police', *Policing,* 3(4): 364–372.

Odgers, C. L., Moffitt, T. E., Tach, L. M., Sampson, R. J., Taylor, A. & Matthews, C. L. (2009), 'The Protective Effects of Neighbourhood Collective Efficacy on British Children Growing Up in Deprivation: A Developmental Analysis'*, Developmental Psychology,* 45(4): 942–957.

OECD (2016), *OECD Regions at a Glance 2016*, OECD Publishing, Paris.

Office for National Statistics (2001), *Census: Digitised Boundary Data* (England and Wales) UK Data Service Census Support.

Office for National Statistics (2012), *Crime in England and Wales – Quarterly*.

Office for National Statistics (2013), *An Overview of Sexual Offending in England and Wales.*

Office for National Statistics (2014), *Crime in England and Wales, Year Ending June 2014.*

Office for National Statistics (2014), Public Perceptions of the Police, and Police Visibility, 2012/13.

Office for National Statistics (2014), Migration Statistics Quarterly Report - November 2014.

Office for National Statistics, (2015), *Crime Statistics, Focus on Public Perceptions of Crime and the Police, and the Personal Well-Being of Victims, 2013 To 2014*.

Ooka, E. & Wellman, B. (2001), 'Does Social Capital Pay Off More Within or Between Ethnic Groups? Analyzing Job Searchers in Five Toronto Ethnic Groups', in E. Fong, (ed.). *Inside the Mosaic* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Operario, D. & Fiske, S. T. (2004), 'Stereotypes: Content, Structures, Processes and Context', in M. B. Brewer & M. Hewstone (eds). *Social Cognition*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Owen, D. (2007), 'Self-Government and "Democracy as Reflexive Co-operation." Reflections on Honneth's Social and Political ldeal', in B. van den Brink & D. Owen (eds). *Recognition and Power: Axel Honneth and the Tradition of Critical Social Theory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pahl, K. & Way, N. (2006), 'Longitudinal Trajectories of Ethnic Identity among Urban Black and Latino Adolescents', *Child Development,* 77(5): 1403–1415.

Papachristos, A., Meares, T. and Fagan, J. (2012), 'Why do Criminals Obey the Law? The Influence of Legitimacy and Social Networks on Active Gun Offenders', *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology,* 102(2): 397–439.

Paolini, S., Harwood, J. & Rubin, M. (2010), 'Negative Intergroup Contact Makes Group Memberships Salient: Explaining Why Intergroup Conflict Endures', *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin,* 36(12): 1723–1738.

Parks, R. B. (1984), 'Linking Objective and Subjective Measures of Performance', *Public Administration Review,* 44(2): 118–127.

Parmar, A. (2013), 'Configuring Ethnic Identities: Resistance as a Response to Counter-Terrorist Policy', in C. Phillips & W. Webster (eds). *New Directions in Race, Ethnicity and Crime*. London: Routledge.

Patterson, S. (1965), *Dark Strangers: A Study of West Indians in London*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Peach, C. (1991), *The Caribbean in Europe: Contrasting Patterns of Migrationand Settlement in Britain. France and the Netherlands*, Research Paper No. 15. Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick.

Peery, D. & Bodenhausen, G. V. (2008), 'Black + White = Black: Hypodescent in Reflexive Categorization of Racially Ambiguous Faces', *Psychological Science,* 19(10): 973–977.

Pennant, R. (2005), *Diversity, Trust and Community Participation in England.* London: Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate.

Pepe, S., Sobral Fernández, J., Gómez Fraguela, J. A. & Villar Torres, P. (2008), 'Spanish Adaptation of the Adolescents' Perceived Collective Family Efficace Scale', *Psicothema*, 20(1): 148–154.

Pettigrew, T. F. & Tropp, L. R. (2000), 'Does Intergroup Contact Reduce Prejudice? Recent Meta-Analytic Findings', in S. Oskamp, (ed.). *Reducing Prejudice and Discrimination: Social Psychological Perspectives*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Phillips, C. & Bowling, B. (2003), 'Racism, Ethnicity and Criminology: Developing Minority Perspectives', *British Journal of Criminology,* 43(2): 269–290.

Phinney, J. S. (1989), 'Stages of Ethnic Identity Development in Minority Group Adolescents', *The Journal of Early Adolescence,* 9(1-2): 34–49.

Phinney, J., & Alipuria, L. (1990), 'Ethnic identity in college students from four ethnic groups', *Journal of Adolescence,* 13(2):171–184.

Phinney, J. S. (1992), 'The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure: A New Scale for Use with Diverse Groups', *Journal of Adolescent Research,* 7(2): 156–176.

Phinney, J., Cantu, C. & Kurtz, D. (1997), 'Ethnic and American Identity as Predictors of Self-Esteem Among African American, Latino, and White Adolescents'*, Journal of Youth and Adolescence,* 26(2): 165–185.

Piaget, J. (1926), *The child's conception of the world*. London: Routledge.

Piaget, J. (1932), *The Moral Judgment of the Child.* London: Routledge.

Piatkowska, S. J. (2015), 'Immigrants' Confidence in Police: Do Country-Level Characteristics Matter?', *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 39(1): 1–30.

Piquero, A. R., Fagan, J., Mulvey, E. P., Steinberg, L. & Odgers, C. (2005), 'Developmental Trajectories of Legal Socialization among Serious Adolescent Offenders', *The Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology,* 96(1): 267–298.

Piquero, A. R., Farrington, D. P. & Blumstein, A. (2007), *Key Issues in Criminal Career Research: New Analyses of The Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pollitt, C. & Bouckaert, G. (2000), *Public Management Reform: A Comparative Analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Police Foundation (2011), *Safer School Partnerships.* The Briefing (Series 2:2). London: The police foundation.

Portes, A. (1998), 'Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology'*, Annual Review of Sociology,* 24(1): 1–24.

Positer, T. H. & David, J.C. (1977), 'Victims' Evaluation of Police Performance', *Journal of Criminal Justice,* 6(2): 133–149.

Povey, K. (2001), *Open All Hours – A Thematic Inspection Report on the Role of Police Visibility and Accessibility in Public Reassurance*. London: Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary.

Pratt, T. C. & Cullen, F. T. (2005), 'Assessing Macro-Level Predictors and Theories of Crime: A Meta-Analysis', *Crime and Justice*, 32: 373–450.

Pryce, K. (1979), *Endless Pressure: A Study of West Indian Lifestyle in Britain*. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.

Proshansky, H. (1978), The City and Self-Identity', *Environment and Behavior,* 10(2) 147-69.

Psaltis, C. (2010), 'Commentary: On the Inertia of Social Representations', *Papers on Social Representations,* 19: 15.1–15.8.

Psaltis, C. & Duveen, G. (2006), 'Social Relations and Cognitive Development: The Influence of Conversation Type and Representations of Gender', *European Journal of Social Psychology,* 36(3): 407–430.

Psaltis, C. & Duveen, G. (2007), 'Conversation Types and Conservation: Forms of Recognition and Cognitive Development'*, British Journal of Developmental Psychology,* 25(1): 79–102.

Psaltis, C., Duveen, G. & Perret-Clermont, A. N. (2009), 'The Social and the Psychological: Structure and Context in Intellectual Development, *Human Developmen*t, 52(2): 291–312.

Putnam, R. (1993), '*Making Democracy Work: Civic Tradition in Modern Italy'*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Putnam, R. (1995), 'Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America', *Political Science and Politics,* 28(4): 664–683.

Putnam, R. D. (2000), *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community.* New York: Simon & Schuster.

Putnam, R. D. (2007), 'E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-First Century'. The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture*. Scandinavian Political Studies,* 30(2): 137–174.

Putnam, R., Leonardi, R. & Nametti, R. (1993), *Making Democracy Work: Civic Transitions in Modern Italy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Quinton, P., Bland, N. & Miller, J. (2000), *Police Stops, Decision-Making and Practice*. Police Research Paper 130. London: Home Office.

Quinton, P. & Morris J. (2008), *Neighbourhood Policing: The Impact of Piloting and Early National Implementation.* London: Home Office.

Regan, D. T. & Fazio, R. H. (1977), 'On the Consistency Between Attitudes and Behavior: Look to the Method of Attitude Formation', *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology,* 13(1): 38–45.

Reiner, R. (2000), *The Politics of the Police* (3rd edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Reiner, R. (2010), *The Politics of the Police* (4th edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Reisig, M. D., Bratton, J. & Gertz, M. G. (2007), 'The Construct Validity and Refinement of Process-Based Policing Measures'*, Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 34(8): 1005–1027.

Reisig, M.D., Wolfe, S. & Holtfreter, K. (2011), 'Legal Cynicism, Legitimacy, and Criminal Offending: The Nonconfounding Effect of Low Self-control', *Criminal Justice and Behavior,* 38(12):1265-79.

Reisig, M.D. & Parks, R.B. (2000), 'Experience, Quality of Life, and Neighbourhood Context: A Hierarchical Analysis of Satisfaction with the Police', *Justice Quarterly,* 17(3): 607–630.

Reisig, M. D., Tankebe, J. & Meško, G. (2014), 'Procedural Justice, Police Legitimacy, and Public Cooperation with the Police among Young Slovene Adults', *Journal of Criminal Justice and Security,* 14(2): 147–164.

Reitzel, J. & Piquero, A. (2006), 'Does It Exist? Studying Citizens' Attitudes of Racial Profiling', *Police Quarterly*, 9(2): 161–183.

Revilla, M.A., Saris, W.E. & Krosnick, J.A. (2013), 'Choosing the Number of Categories in Agree–Disagree Scales', *Sociological Methods & Research,* 43(1): 73–97.

Rix, V., Butler, T., Borthwick, R., Rix, V & Rustin, M**.** (eds) (1997), *Rising East: The Journal of East London Studies*. 1(2). London: Lawrence & Wishart.

Roach Family Support Committee (1989), *Policing in Hackney 1945-1984*. Roach Family Support Committee. London: Karia Press.

Roberts, R., Phinney, J., Masse, L., Chen, Y., Roberts, C. & Romero, A. (1999), 'The Structure of Ethnic Identity in Young Adolescents from Diverse Ethnocultural Groups', *Journal of Early Adolescence,* 19(3): 301–322.

Robins, K. (2005), 'Interrupting Identities: Turkey/Europe', in S. Hall and P. du Gay (eds), *Questions of cultural Identity*. Sage, London.

Röder, A. & Mühlau, P. (2012), 'What Determines the Trust of Immigrants in Criminal Justice Systems in Europe?', *European Journal of Criminology,* 9(4): 370–87.

Rose, A. J., & Rudolph, K. D. (2006), 'A Review of Sex Differences in Peer Relationship Processes: Potential Trade-offs for the Emotional and Behavioral Development of Girls and Boys', *Psychological Bulletin,* 132(1): 98–131.

Rose, D. R. & Clear, T. R. (1998), 'Incarceration, Social Capital, and Crime: Implications for Social Disorganization Theory'*, Criminology,* 36(3): 441–480.

Rosenbaum, D. P. *et al.* (2005), 'Attitudes toward the Police: The Effects of Direct and Vicarious Experience'. *Police Quarterly,* 3: 343–365.

Rosenfeld, R., Baumer, E. P. & Messner, S. F. (2001), 'Social Capital and Homicide', *Social Forces,* 80(1): 283–310.

Rotherham, M. J., & Phinney, J. S. (1987), 'Introduction: Definitions and perspectives in the study of children's ethnic socialization'. In J. S. Phinney & M. J. Rotherham (Eds.), *Children's ethnic socialization: Pluralism and development* (pp. 10-28). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Rothstein, B. & Stolle, D. (2003), 'Social Capital, Impartiality and the Welfare State: An Institutional Approach', in Marc Hooghe and Dietlind Stolle (eds.). *Generating Social Capital: Civil Society and Institutions in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Palgrave/St. Marin Press.

Rothstein, B. & Stolle, D. (2007), *The Quality of Government and Social Capital: A Theory of Political Institutions and Generalized Trust*. QoG Working Paper Series 2.

Rowe, J. & Kahn, R. (1997), 'Successful Aging'*, The Gerontologist,* 37(4): 433−440.

Rowland, R. & Coupe, T. (2014), 'Patrol officers and public reassurance: A comparative evaluation of police officers, PCSOs, ACSOs and private security guards', *Policing & Society,* 24(3): 265–284

Rudman L. A. (2004), 'Sources of implicit attitudes', *Current Directions in Psychological Science,* 13(2):79–82.

Rusinko, W. T., Johnson, K. W. & Hornung, C. A. (1978), 'The Importance of Police Contact in the Formulation of Youths' Attitudes toward Police', *Journal of Criminal Justice,* 6(1): 53–67.

Rustine, M. (1996), 'Perspectives on East London', in T. Butler, and M. Rustine (eds). *Rising in The East: The Regeneration of East London*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Saegert, S., Thompson, J. & Warren, M. (Eds.). (2001), *Social Capital and Poor Communities*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Saegert, S., Winkel, G. & Swartz, C. (2002), *Social Capital and Crime in New York City's Low‐Income Housing.* Housing Policy Debate.

Sargeant, E., Murphy, K. & Cherney, A. (2013), 'Ethnicity, Trust and Cooperation with Police: Testing the Dominance of the Process-Based Model', *European Journal of Criminology*, 11(4):500-524.

Salisbury, H. & Upson, A. (2004), *Ethnicity, Victimisation and Worry about Crime: Findings from the 2001/02 and 2002/03 British Crime Surveys*. Home Office Research Findings 237. London: Home Office.

Salway, S., Barley, R., Allmark, P., Gerrish, K., Higginbottom, G. & Ellison, G (2011), *Ethnic Diversity and Inequality: Ethical and scientific rigour in social research*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Salway, S., Allmark, P., Barley, R., Higginbottom, G., Gerrish, K. & Ellison, G. (2009), 'Social research for a multiethnic population: Do the research ethics and standards guidelines of UK learned societies address this challenge?', *Twenty-first Century Society: Journal of the Academy of Social Sciences,* 4(1): 5381.

Sampson, R. J. (1984), 'Group Size, Heterogeneity and Intergroup Conflict: A Test of Blau's Inequality and Heterogeneity', *Social Forces*, 62(3): 618–639.

Sampson, R. J. (2004), 'Neighbourhood and Community: Collective Efficacy and Community Safety', *New Economy,* 11(2000): 106–113.

Sampson, R. J. (2008), 'Rethinking Crime and Immigration', *Contexts*, 7(1): 28–33.

Sampson, R. J. (2012), *Great American City*: *Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Sampson, R. J. & Bartusch, D. J. (1998), 'Legal Cynicism and (Subcultural?) Tolerance of Deviance: The Neighborhood Context of Racial Differences', *Law and Society Review,* 32(4): 777–804.

Sampson, R. J. & Graif, C. (2009), 'Neighborhood Social Capital as Differential Social Organization: Resident and Leadership Dimensions', *American Behavioral Scientist,* 52(11): 1579–1605.

Sampson, R. J. & Groves, W. B. (1989), 'Community Structure and Crime: Testing Social-Disorganization Theory', *American Journal of Sociology,* 94(4): 774-802.

Sampson, R. J. & Laub, J. H. (1990), 'Crime and Deviance over the Life Course: The Salience of Adult Social Bonds', *American Sociological Review,* 55(5): 609–627.

Sampson, R. J. & Laub, J. H. (2003), 'Life-Course Desisters? Trajectories of Crime Among Delinquent Boys Followed to Age 70', *Criminology*, 41(3): 555–592.

Sampson, R. J. & Raudenbush, S. W. (1999), 'Systematic Social Observation of Public Spaces: A New Look at Disorder in Urban Neighborhoods', *American Journal of Sociology,* 105(3): 603–651.

Sampson, R. J. & Raudenbush, S. W. (2001), *Disorder on Urban Neighborhoods: Does It Lead to Crime?* Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, US Department of Justice.

Sampson, R. J., Raudenbush, S. W. & Earls, F. (1997*),* 'Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multilevel Study of Collective Efficacy', *Science*, 277(5328): 918–924.

Sampson, R. J. & Laub, J. H. (2005), A general age-graded theory of crime: lessons learned and the future of life-course criminology. In D. P. Farrington (Ed.), *Integrated Developmental and Lifecourse Theories of Offending (Advances in Criminological Theory, Volume 14)*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

Sarason, I. G., Sarason, R. S. & Pierce, G. R. (1994), 'Social Support: Global and Relationship-Based Levels of Analysis', *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 11(2): 295–312.

Sargeant, E., & Bond, C. E. W. (2013), 'Keeping it in the family: Parental influences on young people's attitudes to police', *Journal of Sociology*, 51(4):917–932.

Scarman, L (1981), *The Brixton Disorders 10–12 April 1981*. London: HMSO.

Schafer, J. A., Huebner, B. M. & Bynum, T. S. (2003), 'Citizen Perceptions of Police Services: Race, Neighborhood Context, and Community Policing', *Police Quarterly,* 6(4): 440–468.

Schofield, J.W. (1995), 'Review of Research on School Desegregation's Impact on Elementary and Secondary School Students', in J. A. Banks & C. A. M. Banks (eds). *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education.* New York: Macmillan.

Schreiber, S (2006), *LORECA mapping exercise – examining the numbers, locations, and employment, training and enterprise needs of London's refugee and asylum seeker communities.* London: LORECA.

Schuck, A. & Rosenbaum, D. (2005), 'Global and Neighborhood Attitudes toward the Police: Differentiation by race, ethnicity and type of contact', *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 21(4): 391–418.

Schwartz, S. H. (1978), 'Temporal Instability as a Moderator of the Attitude-Behavior Relationship', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 36(7): 715–724.

Schwarz, N. & Bohner, G. (2001), 'The construction of attitudes' In A. Tesser & N. Schwarz (Eds.), *Blackwell Handbook of Social Psychology*, Vol. 1: Intraindividual processes (pp. 436-457). Oxford: Blackwell.

Scribbins, M. (ed.), Flatley, J. (ed.), Hoare, J., Parfrement-Hopkins, J., Britton, A. & Hall, P. (2011), *Children's experience and attitudes towards the police, personal safety and public spaces: Findings from the 2009/10 British Crime Survey interviews with children aged 10 to 15* (Supplementary Volume 3 to *Crime in England and Wales 2009/10)*. Home Office Statistical Bulletin 08/11. London: Home Office.

Shapland, J., Wilmore, J. & Duff, P. (1985), *Victims in the Criminal Justice System*. Aldershot: Gower.

Sharp, D. & Atherton, S. (2007), 'To Serve and Protect?: The Experiences of Policing in the Community of Young People from Black and Other Ethnic Minority Groups', *British Journal of Criminology,* 47(5): 746–763.

Shaw, C. & Mckay, H. (1942), *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas: a study of rates of delinquents in relation to differential characteristics of local communities in American cities*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Sherman, L. W. (1993), 'Defiance, Deterrence, and Irrelevance: A Theory of Criminal Sanction', *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency,* 30(4):445-73.

Sherman, L. W. (1995), 'Hot spots of crime and criminal careers of places.' *In Crime and Place*: *Crime Prevention Studies*, edited by Eck, John E.; Weisburd, David. Monsey, NY: Willow Tree Press.

Sheskin, D. (2011), *Handbook of Parametric and Non-Parametric Statistical Procedure* (5th ed.). Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.

Shih, M. & Sanchez, D. T. (2005), 'Perspectives and Research on the Positive and Negative Implications of Having Multiple Racial Identities', *Psychological Bulletin,* 131(4): 569–591.

Shrum, W., Cheek, Jr., N. H. & Macd. Hunter, S. (1988), 'Friendship in School: Gender and Racial Homophily', *Sociology of Education,* 61(4): 227–239.

Silver, E. & Miller, L. L. (2004), 'Sources of Informal Social Control in Chicago Neighborhoods'*, Criminology,* 42(3): 551–583.

Sims, L. & Myhill, A. (2001), *Policing and The Public: Findings from the 2000 British Crime Survey.* London: Home Office.

Sindall, K., Sturgis, P. & Jennings, W. (2012), 'Public Confidence in the Police: A Time-Series Analysis', *British Journal of Criminology*, 52(4): 744–764.

Skidelsky R. (2000) The Age of Inequality In. Green, D. G., Grieve, J. G. D., French, J., Ignatieff, M., O'Brien, M. and Skidelsky, R. ed. (2000), *Institutional Racism and the Police: Fact or Fiction?* Trowbridge: The Cromwell Press.

Skogan, W. (2006), 'Asymmetry in the Impact of Encounters with Police'. *Policing and Society,* 16(2): 99–126.

Skogan, W. G. (1978), *The Fear of Crime Among the Elderly*. In U.S. House of Representatives, Research into Crimes Against the Elderly, Part II, Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Skogan, W. G. (1990), *The Police and the Public in England and Wales: A British Crime Survey Report.* Home Office Research Study 117. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Skogan, W. G. (1994), *Contacts Between Police and Public: Findings from the 1992 British Crime Survey.* Home Office Research Study 134. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Skogan, W. G. (2005), 'Citizen Satisfaction with Police Encounters', *Police Quarterly,* 8: 298–321.

Skogan, W. G. (2006), Asymmetry in the Impact of Encounters with Police', *Policing & Society,* 16(2): 99–126.

Skogan, W. G. (2009), 'Concern about Crime and Confidence in the Police: Reassurance or Accountability?', *Police Quarterly*, 12(3): 301–318.

Skogan, W. G. & Hartnett, S. M. (1997), *Community Policing, Chicago Style.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Slater, T. (2011), 'From 'Criminality' to Marginality: Rioting Against a Broken State', *Human Geography,* 4(3): 106–115.

Slocum, L. A. (2010), 'General Strain Theory and the Development of Stressors and Substance Use over Time: An Empirical Examination', *Journal of Criminal Justice,* 38(6): 1100−1112.

Smith P. R., Meijer, R. F. & Groen, P. J. (2004), 'Detection Rates, An International Comparison', *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research,* 10(2-3): 225–253.

Smith, D. (1997), 'Ethnic Origins, Crime, and Criminal Justice in England and Wales', *Crime and Justice,* 21:101–182.

Smith, D. (2009), 'Key Concepts and Theories About "Race"', in H. S. Bhui (ed.). *Race and Criminal Justice*. London: Sage.

Smith, D. (2010), *Public Confidence in the Criminal Justice System: Findings from The British Crime Survey 2002/03 to 2007/08*. Ministry of Justice Research Series 16/10. London: Ministry of Justice.

Smith, D. J. (2005), 'Ethnic Differences in Intergenerational Crime Patterns', in M. Tonry (ed.). *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research*, Vol. 32 (2nd edition). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Smith, P. E. & Hawkins, R. O. (1973), 'Victimization, Types of Citizen–Police Contacts and Attitudes toward the Police', *Law and Society Review,* 8(1): 135–152.

Smith, T. B. & Silva, L. (2011), 'Ethnic Identity and Personal Well-Being of People of Color: A Meta-Analysis', *Journal of Counselling Psychology,* 58(1): 42–60.

Snijders, T. A. B. & Bosker, R. J. (2012), *Multilevel Analysis: An Introduction to Basic and Advanced Multilevel Modelling* (2nd edition). London: Sage Publishers.

South, S. & Felson R. (1990), 'The Racial Patterning of Rape', *Social Forces,* 69(1): 71–94.

South, S. J. & Messner, S. F. (1986)*,'* Structural Determinants of Intergroup Association: Interracial Marriage and Crime'*, American Journal of Sociology,* 91(6): 1409–1430.

Southgate, P. (1986), *Police–Public Encounters*. Home Office Research Study 90. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Spencer, A. J. & Hough, M. (2000), *Policing Diversity: Lessons from Lambeth.* Policing Research Series Paper 121. London: Home Office.

Stanko, B. & Bradford, B (2009), 'Beyond Measuring 'How Good a Job' Police Are Doing: The MPS Model of Confidence in Policing', *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, 34(1): 322–330.

Steffensmeier, D., & Ulmer, J. (2002), 'Age and the patterning of crime.' In S. Kadish (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of crime and justice* (pp. 22-28). New York: Macmillan.

Stiglitz, J. E., Sen, A. & Fitoussi, J. P. (2009), *Report by the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress*. Paris: INSEE

Stolle, D. (2002), 'Trusting Strangers – The Concept of Generalized Trust in Perspective', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, 31(4): 397–412.

Stolle, D., and T. Rochon. (1998), 'Are All Associations Alike? Member Diversity, Associational Type and the Creation of Social Capital', *American Behavioral Scientist,* 42(1):47-65.

Stone, V. & Pettigrew, N. (2000), *The Views of the Public on Stops and Searches*. London: Home Office.

Strack, F., & Deutsch, R. (2004), 'Reflective and impulsive determinants of social behavior', *Personality and Social Psychology Review,* 8(3): 220-247.

Strategic Policy and Research Team. (2009), *London Borough of Hackney*. London

Sturgis, P., Patulny, R., Allum, N. and Buscha, F. (2012), 'Social connectedness and generalized trust: a longitudinal perspective'. *ISER Working Paper Series,* 19: 1-23

Sturgis, P., Brunton-Smith, I., Read, S. & Allum N. (2011), 'Does Ethnic Diversity Erode Trust? Putnam's 'Hunkering Down' Thesis Reconsidered', *British Journal of Political Science,* 41(1): 57–82.

Sun, I., Hu, R. & Wu, Y. (2012), 'Social Capital, Political Participation, and Trust in the Police in Urban China', *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 45(1): 87–105.

Sunshine, J. & Tyler, T. R. (2003), 'The Role pf Procedural Justice and Legitimacy in Shaping Public Support for Policing', *Law & Society Review,* 37(3): 513–547.

Sutherland, A., Brunton-Smith, I. & Jackson, J. (2013), 'Collective Efficacy, Deprivation and Violence in London', *British Journal of Criminology*, 53(6): 1050–1074.

Sykes, R. E. & Clark, J. P. (1975), 'A Theory of Deference Exchange in Police–Civilian Encounters', *The American Journal of Sociology,* 81(3): 584–600.

Tajfel, H. (1972), 'Social Categorization. English Manuscript of "La Catégorisation Sociale"', in S. Moscovici (ed.), *Introduction à la Psychologie Sociale*. Vol. 1 (pp. 272–302). Paris: Larousse.

Tajfel, H. (1981a), *Human Groups and Social Categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H. (1981b), 'Social Stereotypes and Social Groups', in J. C. Turner and H. Giles (eds). *Intergroup Behaviour*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. C. (1986), 'The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior', in S. Worchel & W. G Autin (eds). *Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (2nd edtion) (pp. 7–24). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole

Tankebe, J. (2009), 'Self-Help, Policing, and Procedural Justice: Ghanaian Vigilantism and the Rule of Law', *Law and Society Review*, 43(2): 245–268.

Tankebe, J. (2009), 'Public Cooperation with the Police in Ghana: Does Procedural Fairness Matter*?', Criminology*, 47(4): 1265–1293.

Tankebe, J. (2010), 'Public Confidence in the Police: Testing the Effects of Experience of Police Corruption in Ghana'*, British Journal of Criminology,* 50(2): 296–319.

Tankebe, J. (2011), 'Explaining Police Support for Use of Force and Vigilante Violence in Ghana', *Policing & Society: An International Journal of Research and Policy*, 21(2): 129–149.

Tankebe, J. (2013), 'Viewing Things Differently: The Dimensions of Public Perceptions of Police Legitimacy', *Criminology,* 51(1): 103–135.

Tapp, J. L. (1976), 'Psychology and the law: An overture', *Annual Review of Psychology*, 27:359-404.

Tapp, J. L. (1987), The jury as a socialization experience: A socio-cognitive view. In R.W. Rieber (Ed.), *Advances in forensic psychology and psychiatry* (Vol. 2, pp. 1-32). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Tapp, J. L. (1991), 'The geography of legal socialization: Scientific and social markers', *Droit et Sociètè,* 19:331-358

Tapp, J. L. & Kohlberg, L. (1971), 'Developing senses of law and legal justice', *Journal of Social Issues,* 27(2*)*: 65-91.

Tapp, J. L. & Levine, F. J. (1970), 'Persuasion to virtue: A preliminary statement', *Law & Society Review,* 4(4):565-582.

Tapp, J. L. & Levine, F. J. (1974), 'Legal socialization: Strategies for an ethical legality', *Stanford Law Review,* 27(1):1-72.

Tapp, J. L. & Levine, F. J. (1977), *Law, justice, and the individual in society*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, &Winston.

Tavris C. & Aronson E. (2007), *Mistakes Were Made (But Not by Me): Why We Justify Foolish Beliefs, Bad Decisions and Hurtful Acts.* New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Taylor, C. (1989), Sources *of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Taylor, C. (1994), 'The Politics of Recognition', in A. Gutmann (ed.), *Multi-culturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition* (pp. 25–73). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Tyler, I. (2013), *Revolting Subjects: Social Abjection and Resistance in Neoliberal Britain*. London: Zed Books.

Taylor, T. J., Turner, K. B., Esbensen, F. A. & Winfree, T. J. Jr. (2001), ''Coppin' An Attitude: Attitudinal Differences among Juveniles toward Police', *Journal of Criminal Justice,* 29(4): 295–305.

Tell Mama (2014), *Anti-Muslim hate crimes, 2012-2014 in London: An Analysis of the Situation.* Online publication. http://tellmamauk.org/anti-muslim-hate-crimes-2012-2014-in-london-an-analysis-of-the-situation/ [Accessed 18 September 2015]

Thanossoulis, E. (1992), 'Assessing Police Forces in England and Wales Using Data Envelopment Analysis'*, European Journal of Operational Research,* 87(3): 641–657.

Thomas C. W. & Hyman J. M. (1977), 'Perceptions of Crime, Fear of Victimization, and Public Perception of Police Performance'*, Journal of Police Science and Administration*, 5(3): 305-317.

Thomas, W. I. and Znaniecki, F. (1927/1958), *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. New York: Dover Publications

Tisak, M. S. & Turiel , E. (1984), 'Children's Conceptions of Moral and Prudential Rules', *Child Development,* 55(3):1030–1039.

TNS BMRB (2011) *The 2010/2011 Crime Survey for England and Wales Technical Report for the British Crime Survey*.

Tracy, P.E & Kempf-Leonard, K. (1996), *Continuity and discontinuity in criminal careers.* New York: Plenum Press.

Trinkner, R., & Cohn, E. S. (2014), 'Putting the "social" back in legal socialization: Procedural justice, legitimacy, and cynicism in legal and nonlegal authorities', *Law and Human Behavior,* 38(6), 602-617.

Trinkner, R., & Tyler, T. R. (2016), 'Legal socialization: Coercion vs. consent in an era of mistrust', *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*,12:417-439.

Trojanowicz, C. & Bucqueroux, B. (1990), *Community Policing: A Contemporary Perspective*. Cincinnati, OH: Anderson.

Trope, Y., and Liberman, N. (2010), 'Construal level theory of psychological distance', *Psychological Review,* 117(2): 440-463.

Turiel, E. (1983), *The Development of Social Knowledge.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tyler, T. R., Fagan, J. & Geller, A. (2014), 'Street Stops and Police Legitimacy: Teachable Moments in Young Urban Men's Legal Socialization', *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, 11(4): 751–785.

Tyler, T. & Fagan J. (2006), *Legitimacy and Cooperation: Why Do People Help the Police Fight Crime in Their Communities?* Public Law and Legal Theory Working Paper Group. Columbia Law School. 06-99.

Tyler, T. R., Goff, P. A., & MacCoun, R. J. (2015), 'The impact of psychological science on policing in the United States: Procedural justice, legitimacy, and effective law enforcement', *Psychological Science in the Public Interest,* 16(3): 75-109.

Tyler, T. R. (1990), *Why People Obey the Law: Procedural Justice, Legitimacy, and Compliance.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Tyler, T. R (2004), 'Enhancing Police Legitimacy'*, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 593(1): 84-99.

Tyler, T. R. (2005), 'Policing in Black and White: Ethnic Group Differences in Trust and Confidence in the Police', *Police Quarterly,* 8(3): 322-342.

Tyler, T. R. (2006), 'Psychological Perspectives on Legitimacy and Legitimation', *Annual Review of Psychology,* 57: 375–400.

Tyler, T. R. (2009), 'Legitimacy and Criminal Justice: The Benefits of Self-Regulation', *Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law,* 7: 307–360.

Tyler, T. R. (2011), 'Trust and Legitimacy: Policing in the USA and Europe', *European Journal of Criminology,* 8: 254–266.

Tyler, T. R. & Boeckmann, R. J. (1997)*, '*Three Strikes and You Are Out, But Why? The Psychology of Public Support for Punishing Rule Breakers', *Law and Society Review,* 31: 237–265.

Tyler T. R., Boeckmann, R., Smith, H. J. & Huo, Y. J. (1997), *Social Justice in a Diverse Society.* Denver, CO: Westview.

Tyler, T. R. & Huo, Y. J. (2002), *Trust in the Law: Encouraging Public Cooperation with the Police and the Courts.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation

Tyler, T. R. and Jackson, J. (2013a), 'Future Challenges in the Study of Legitimacy and Criminal Justice', in J. Tankebe and A. Liebling (eds). *Legitimacy and Criminal Justice: An International Exploration* (pp. 83–104). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tyler, T. R. and Jackson, J. (2013b) (2014), 'Popular Legitimacy and the Exercise of Legal Authority: Motivating Compliance, Cooperation and Engagement', *Psychology, Public Policy and Law,* 20: 78–95.

Tyler, T.R. & Lind, E.A. (1992), 'A relational model of authority in groups', in Mark P. Zanna (ed.) *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (pp. 116–191). San Diego, CA: Academic Press, Inc.

Tyler, T. R. & Smith, H. (1998), 'Social Justice and Social Movements', in D. Gilbert, S. Fiske and G. Lindzey (eds). *Handbook of Social Psychology* (pp. 595–629) (4th edition). New York: Mcgraw-Hill.

Tyler, T. R., & Trinkner, R. (2016), Legal socialization in an era of mistrust: Fostering popular legitimacy of the law. *Manuscript in preparation*.

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Quintana, S. M., Lee, R. M., Cross, W. E., Rivas, Drake, D., Schwartz, S. J., & Seaton, E. (2014), 'Ethnic and racial identity during adolescence and into young adulthood: An integrated conceptualization', *Child Development*, 85(1): 21-39.

United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (2000), *Prevention of Urban Crime*. Safer Cities Programme. Background document.

Unnever, J. D., Cullen, F. T., Mathers, S. A., Mcclure, T. E. & Allison, M. C. (2009), *'* Racial Discrimination and Hirschi's Criminological Classic: A Chapter in the Sociology of Knowledge', *Justice Quarterly*, 26(3): 377–409.

Uslaner, E. M. (2000), 'Producing and Consuming Trust*', Political Science Quarterly,* 115(4): 569–591.

Uslaner, E. (2002), *Strategic Trust and Moralistic Trust.* Cambridge: The Moral Foundations of Trust.

Valier, C. (2003), 'Foreigners, Crime and Changing Mobilities', *British Journal of Criminology,* 43 (1): 1-21.

Van De Walle, S. (2009), 'Confidence in the Criminal Justice System: Does Experience Count?', *The British Journal of Criminology*, 49(3): 384–398.

Viki, G. T., Culmer, M. J., Eller, A. & Abrams, D. (2006), 'Race and Willingness to Cooperate with the Police: The Roles of Quality of Contact, Attitudes towards the Behaviour and Subjective Norms', *The British Journal of Social Psychology,* 45(2): 285–302.

Villarreal, A. & Silva, B. F. A. (2006)*, '*Social Cohesion, Criminal Victimization and Perceived Risk of Crime in Brazilian Neighborhoods', *Social Forces,* 84(3): 1725–1753.

Vine, J. (2014), *An Inspection of Immigration Enforcement Activity in London and The West Midlands ('Operation Nexus'), Independent Chief Inspector of Borders and Immigration*. Independent Chief inspector of Borders and Immigration.

Vogel, T., & Wanke, M. (2016), *Attitudes and Attitude Change*. (Second edition). Abingdon: Psychology Press.

Vygotsky, L. (1929/1978), *Mind in Society*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wacquant, L. (1993), *The Return of the Repressed: Violence, 'Race', and Dualization in Three Advanced Societies*, Working Paper # 24, New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Wacquant, L. (2007), 'Territorial Stigmatization in the Age of Advanced Marginality', *Thesis Eleven*, 91(1): 66–77.

Wacquant, L. (2008), *Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Waddington, P. A. J. (1999), *Policing Citizens: Authority and Rights*. London: University College Press.

Waddington, P. A. J., Stenson, K., & Don, D. (2004), 'In Proportion Race, and Police Stop and Search', *The British Journal of Criminology,* 44(6): 889–914.

Wagner, W., Duveen, G., Farr, R., Jovchelovitch, S., Lorenzi-Cioldi, F., Markova, I. & Rose, D. (1999), 'Theory and Method of Social Representations', *Asian Journal of Social Psychology,* 2(1): 95–125.

Walker, A., Flatley, J., Kershaw, C., Moon, D. (2009), *Crime in England and Wales 2008/09*. Home Office Statistical Bulletin 11/09. London: Home Office.

Wallace, D.S., Paulson, R. M., Lord, C.G., & Bond, C.F. (2005), 'Which behaviors do attitudes predict? Meta–analyzing the effects of social pressure and perceived difficulty'. *Review of General Psychology,* 9: 214–227.

Warren, M. R., Thompson J. P. & Saegert S. (2002), 'The Role of Social Capital in Combating Poverty', in S. Saegert, J. P. Thompson & M. R. Warren (eds). *Social Capital and Poor Communities.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Webb, V. J. & Marshall, C. E. (1995), 'The Relative Importance of Race and Ethnicity on Citizen Attitudes toward the Police', *American Journal of Police,* 14(2): 45–66.

Weitzer, R. (2000), Racialized Policing: Residents' Perceptions in Three Neighborhoods', *Law and Society Review*, 34(1): 129–55.

Weitzer. R. (2002), 'Incidents of Police Misconduct and Public Opinion', *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 30(5): 397–408.

Weitzer. R. (2015), Diversity among police officers is key, but it won't solve the problems with policing. *The Guardian Online* retrieved http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jan/20/diversity-among-police-officers-is-key-but-it-wont-solve-the-problems-with-policing

Weitzer, R., & Tuch, S. A. (2004), 'Race and Perceptions of Police Misconduct', *Social Problems,* 51(3):305-325.

Weitzer, R. & Tuch, S. A. (2005), 'Determinants of Public Satisfaction with the Police', *Police Quarterly*, 8(3): 279–297.

Weitzer, R. & Tuch, S. A. (2002), 'Perceptions of Racial Profiling: Race, Class, and Personal Experience', *Criminology,* 40(2): 435–456.

Weitzer, R. Tuch, S. A. & Skogan, W. G. (2008), 'Police–Community Relations in a Majority-Black City', *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency,* 45(4): 398–428.

Wellman, B. & Wortley, S. (1990), 'Different Strokes from Different Folks: Community Ties and Social Support', *American Journal of Sociology,* 96(3): 558–588.

Wells, W. (2007), 'Type of Contact and Evaluations of Police Officers: The Effects of Procedural Justice Across Three Types of Police–Citizen Contacts', *Journal of Criminal Justice,* 35(6): 612–621.

Wikström, P. O. H., Ceccato, V., Hardie, B. & Treiber, K. (2010), 'Activity Fields and the Dynamics of Crime: Advancing Knowledge about the Role of the Environment in Crime Causation', *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 26(1): 55–87.

Willig, C (2001), *Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology Adventures in Theory and Method*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Wilson, W. J. (1999), *The Bridge over the Racial Divide: Rising Inequality and Coalition Politics.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Wilson, W. J. (1987), *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Wilson, J & Kelling G. (1982), "Broken Windows", *Atlantic Monthly,* 211:29-38.

Winfree, L. T. & Griffiths, C. T. (1977), 'Adolescent attitudes toward the police: a survey of high school students', in T. Ferdinand (ed.). *Juvenile Delinquency: Little Brother Grows Up* (pp. 79–99). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Winkleby, M. A. & Cubbin, C. (2003), 'Influence of Individual and Neighborhood Socioeconomic Status on Mortality among Black, Mexican-American, and White Women and Men in the United States', *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 57(6): 444–452.

Winnicott, D. W. (1957), *The Child the Family and the Outside World.* London: Tavistock

Winnicott, D. W. (1971), *Playing and Reality*. London: Tavistock Publications.

Winship, C., Braga, A., & Hureau, D. (2008), 'Losing Faith? Police, Black Churches, and the Resurgence of Youth Violence in Boston', *Ohio State Law Journal*, 6:141-172.

Winship, C & Berrien J. (2000), 'Should We Have Faith in the Churches? The Ten Point Coalition's Effect on Boston's Youth Violence', in B. Harcourt (ed.). *Guns, Crime and Punishment in America*. New York: New York University Press.

Winship, C. & Berrien, J. (2002), 'An Umbrella of Legitimacy: Boston's Police Department – Ten Point Coalition Collaboration', in G. Katzmann (ed.). *Securing Our Children's Future:*

New Approaches to Juvenile Justice and Youth Violence. Washington, DC: Brookings Institute Press.

Winslow, E. B. & Shaw, D. S. (2007), 'Impact of Neighborhood Disadvantage on Overt Behavior Problems During Early Childhood', *Aggressive Behavior,* 33(3):207–219.

Worrell, F., Mendoza-Denton, R., Telesford, J., Simmons, C. & Martin, J F. (2011), 'Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS) Scores: Stability and Relationships with Psychological Adjustment', *Journal of Personality Assessment,* 93(6):637-648.

Wu, Y., Lake, R., & Cao, L. (2015), 'Race, social bonds, and juvenile attitudes toward the police', *Justice Quarterly,* 32(3) 445-470.

Wuthnow, R. (2001), 'The Changing Character of Social Capital in the United States' in R. D. Putnam (ed.). *The Dynamics of Social Capital*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Yin, R. (2003), *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, Applied Social Research Methods, Volume 5. London: Sage.

Yip, T. and Fuligni, A. J. (2002), 'Daily Variation in Ethnic Identity, Ethnic Behaviors, and Psychological Well–Being among American Adolescents of Chinese Descent', *Child Development,* 73(5): 1557–1572.

Yip, T., Seaton, E. K. & Sellers, R. M. (2006), 'African American Racial Identity across the Lifespan: Identity Status, Identity Content, and Depressive Symptoms', *Child Development*, 77(5): 1504–1517.

Young, J (1994), *Holocaust Memorials in History: The Art of Memory*, NY: Prestel,

Young, J. (1999), *The Exclusive Society: Social exclusion, crime and difference in late modernity*, London: Sage.

Young, J. (2006), 'The Art of Jewish Memory in Post Modern Age', in Jörn Rüsen (ed.). *Meaning and Representation in History*, New York: Berghahn Books.

Youth Justice Board (2012), Youth justice statistics 2010/11, England and Wales: Youth Justice Board /Ministry of Justice statistics bulletin.

Zanna, M. P. & Rempel, J. K. (1988), 'Attitudes: A New Look at an old Concept', in D. Bar-Tal & A. Kruglanski (eds). *The Social Psychology of Knowledge*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Zhang, L., Messner, S. F. & Liu, J. (2007), 'A Multilevel Analysis of the Risk of Household Burglary in the City of Tianjin, China'*, British Journal of Criminology,* 47: 918–937.

Zittoun, T., Duveen, G., Gillespie, A., Ivinson, G. M. & Psaltis, C. (2003), 'The Use of Symbolic Resources in Developmental Transitions', *Cultural Psychology,* 9: 415–448.

APPENDIX 1: HOW HACKNEY COMPARES TO GREATER LONDON AND NATIONWIDE

Demography Indicators	Hackney	Greater London	National Comparator
GLA population estimate (2012)	238,500	8,082,300	52,234,045
GLA household estimate (2011)	97,800	3,296,100	21,731,000
Population density (per hectare) (2012)	125.2	51.4	4.0
Average Age (2012)	33.3	35.8	40.0
Proportion of population aged 16-24 (2012)	12.5	11.8	12.0
Proportion of population of working-age (2012)	69.4	68.0	64.8
Proportion of population aged 65 and over (2012)	8.1	11.2	16.5
% of resident population born abroad (2009)	36.4	33.9	11.3
% of population from BAME groups (2012)	41.1	36.0	12.5
% adults who do not speak English at home (2009)	20.7	21.7	6.7
Labour Market Indicators			
Employment rate (2010)	68.6	68.1	70.4
Male employment rate (2010)	74.3	75.4	75.8
Female employment rate (2010)	63.3	60.7	65.1
ILO unemployment rate (2010)	10.4	8.7	7.6
Number of 16-18 year olds who are NEET*(%) (Mar 2012)	274	10,985	104,176
Proportion of 16-18 year olds who are NEET* (%) (Mar 2012)	3.9	4.6	6.1
People claiming out of work benefits (May 2011)	19.4	12.4	12.1
People with no qualifications (%) (2010)	14.9	9.9	11.6
People with Level 4+ qualifications (%) (2010)	43.0	41.9	31.2
Residents' gross annual pay (2011)	32,000	32,000	27,000
Community Safety Indicator			
Crime rates per thousand population (2011/12)	127	104	75
Housing Indicators			
Median house price, (£) (2010)	292,500	288,000	182,000
Average Band D Council Tax charge (£), (2012/13)	1,305	1,304	1,444
New homes (net) (2010/11)	1,630	17,830	121,200
Homes owned outright (2010) %	10	22	32
Homes bought with mortgage or loan (2010) %	24	30	34
Rented from local authority or Housing Association (2010) %	41	23	18
Rented from Private landlord (2010) %	24	22	13
Number of cars per household (2009)	0.4	0.8	1.2
Deprivation Indicators			
Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2010 Rank of Average Score	2		
Income support claimant rate (May-11)	7.6	4.8	4.0
Children Indicators			
5 or more A*- C at GCSE, including English and Math (2009/10)	55.3	58.0	55.3
Rates of children looked after (2011)	51.0	61.0	59.0
% of pupils whose first language is not English (2011)	53	42	15

Health Indicators			
Male life expectancy (2008-10)	77.4	79.0	78.6
Female life expectancy (2008-10)	83.0	83.3	82.6
Teenage conception rate (2009)	51.8	37.1	35.4

* NEET – *Not in education, employment, or training*

GLA intelligence. Sources: GLA datastore, Annual Population Survey (ONS), Labour Force Survey, DWP, Annual Population Survey, ONS, Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings and DfE Statistics.

APPENDIX 2: RESEARCH PHASES

Social factors	**Independent variables**	**Methods of inquiry**	
		Community	***School***
Social control	Organisational capacity	Interviews CL,	FG, school
	Respect for authority	Observation	observations, SO,
		Interviews CL	FG, observations
Support network	Community support	Interviews CL	Survey, FG
	Familial support	Interviews CL	Survey, FG
	Friends support	Interviews CL	Survey
	Other networks support		
Perceptions of safety	In neighbourhoods	Interviews CL, official	Survey, FG
	In schools	statistics	

Contact with police	**Independent variables**	**Methods of inquiry**	
		Community	***School***
Community contact	Past experience	Interviews CL	Survey, FG
	Relationship with police	Interviews CL, HP	
	Community policing	Interviews CL, HP	
	Common encounters	Interviews CL	
	Working relationship	Interviews CL, HP	
Personal/direct contact	Past experience	Interviews CL	Survey, FG
	Reasons for contact	Interviews CL	Survey, FG
	Contact Satisfaction	Interviews CL	Survey
Indirect/friend contact	Past experience	Interviews CL	Survey, FG
	Reasons for contact	Interviews CL	
Association with crime	Gangsiation with cri	Interviews CL, official statistics	Survey, FG
Ethnicity	Ethnic identity	Interviews CL,	Survey, FG, SO
	Search for identity	Interviews CL	

Social factors	**Independent variables**	**Methods of inquiry**	
		Community	***School***
Gender	Male	Interviews CL	Survey, FG
	Female		Survey, FG, SO, Shadowing
Age	Adult	Interviews CL	Survey, FG
	School children	Interviews CL	
Free meals	Deprivation	Interviews CL	Shadowing
	Free meals		Survey, FG
Generational status	Refugees, asylum seekers	Interviews CL	Survey
	Immigrants	Interviews CL	Survey
	First generation	Interviews CL	Survey
	Second generation		

FG = Focus Group, **SO** = School Officials, **HP** = Hackney Police, **CL** = Community Leaders

APPENDIX 3: QUALITATIVE DATA COLLECTION

	Position	Date	Location/Organisation
1	Head of Safer Communities Services	Aug-05	Community Safety Office
2	Community Safety Team Manager	Dec-05	Community Safety Office
3	Community Safety Coordinator	Feb-06	Community Safety Office
4	Head of Safer Communities Services	Jun-06	Community Safety Office
5	Coordinator	Jul-06	Lubavitch House
6	Assistant Director	Aug-06	Learning Trust
7	Chief Officer	Aug-06	HCVS
8	Student Participation Coordinator	Aug-06	Learning trust
9	Coordinator	Sep-06	Halkevi
10	Faith and Community Liaison officer	Sep-06	Stoke Newington police station
11	Chair	Oct-06	The Hackney Race Equality Partnership
12	Coordinator	Oct-06	Hackney council
13	Chair	Oct-06	Talking Matters
14	Assistant Director	Oct-06	Learning trust
15	Policy and Regeneration Officer	Oct-06	Interlink
16	Chair Hackney Refugee Forum	Oct-06	HCVS
17	school principal	Nov-06	Yesodey Hatorah Girls School
18	Director	Nov-06	Black and Ethnic Minority Working Group
19	Met Police - Safer School officer	Nov-06	Hackney Police Station
20	Met Police - Safer School officer	Jan-07	Hackney Police Station / Stoke Newington Police
21	Met Police - Safer School officer	Feb-07	Stoke-Newington school
22	Head Teacher Stoke Newington	Mar-07	Stoke-Newington school
23	Met Police - Safer School officer	Apr-07	Skinners / Our Lady's Secondary School
24	Met Police - Safer School officer	2/2/08	Cardinal Pole School
25	Met Police - Borough Commander	2/20/08	Stoke-Newington police station
26	Alevi Cultural Centre	4/18/08	Dalston

APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL (COMMUNITY LEADERS)

The following is a general guideline; the actual schedule was customised for each interview.

- Introduction (research and interview goals).
- Could you please tell me about your organisation – activities, agenda, when established?
- How would you describe your community: origin, values, identity, level of integration?
- Describe your community's relationship with police in your home country.
- Describe your community's relationship with local authorities.
- Describe your community's relationship with other communities of faith (background) in the neighborhood.
- Describe common encounters of members of your community with the police here in Hackney.
- Describe community policing.
- What is your organisation's relationship with the police?

APPENDIX 5: INTERVIEW 4 (EXTRACTS)

M; .. Um, alright, so just a few words about your organisation, your organisation is doing. What is your agenda? When was it established?

A: We started in 2003, I think it was, I think it was three, as a result of the closure of the previous Race Equality Unit. That closed because it had a member who was a troublesome member, for want of a better expression, who took the organisation to court, this is a serial litigant and she was awarded I think £20,000 worth of damages. So they had to close it, to cut a long story short, even though she said that she was there to support race equality work in Borough, but through her actions it closed. And obviously between the time of that closing and all the aggravation **[3.39]** before that, there are lots of people who could have and should have received the service in Hackney, who were not able to because a lot of staff time and energy were devoted to **[3.48]** litigation. Cause she had several cases against them and not our people, no, that's not why we're here.

M: So how you were appointed, on a voluntary basis?

A: This is a voluntary group. I said, we come out of a recognition that there's a need for a service. Even though that's gone, the need is still there and the job that they could have and should have been doing still needs to be done.

M: And what is it, the job, that needs to be done?

A: The main thing is to promote racial equality

A: Racial equality, yeah. And to act against discrimination. There are such things as the enforcement of the Race Relations Amendment Act and it's primarily to work with the community and the statutory providers to increase communications between ourselves and improve services to local people, especially BMEs. One of the things that come out of doing this work for quite some time is that most of the issues we talk about are issues of poverty. They're not about race. It just happens to affect people of particular races more than others but at the heart of it are issues of poverty and the discrimination bit, again it's another aspect of poverty where people feel that they're not being treated fairly but nobody wants to listen to them.

M: And you are here just to listen to them **[5.38]**

A: Not really. We do several things. And one of the things that we're doing at the moment is setting up a network of local BME organisations. So that creates a space where BME groups can meet to discuss common issues

M: Such as the one that (multiple voices)

A: The policing. There's a lot of altercation where Turkish boys, black boys, doing bad and education in Hackney's not too good and these are the people at the bottom. That's why I say, when you talk about issues to do with race, quite often it's about inequality. Cause if it happens, there's a racial aspect to it cause if you just talk about health, for example, health inequalities, it'll still be the same group of people that we're talking about. Um, so the network is this place where we can meet, discuss these common issues and meet with statutory providers, meet with each other, access training, information and build up those links with each other and with the statutory providers. Cause that's the only way that you can have community cohesion or we can reach any of our targets is by working together. Cause whatever they do in this borough, there's always a vital part that's missing and that's the community, the voluntary sector, ethnic minorities in particular, being engaged, involved, talking to each other and talking to them. They need that to happen. It's not happening and if this thing

doesn't happen, all the other targets they have, they can't fulfil them, whether we're talking about teenage pregnancies, guns and violence, unemployment, the aged, I forget what the other one is but they need the help of these BMEs to **[7.25]** targets cause they're the ones who are affected most by them. So the network does that. In addition, we also have an organisation that we're developing that has to coordinate and supervise everything because whatever work we do in the borough, it has to go beyond the network. By that I mean, for example, we often get requests for advice work where people feel they've been racially discriminated against. So there's needs to be advice work as well. there's also a need to do some research which we've done to some degree.

M: In what topics?

A: Oh, a variety of topics. Some of them are race related, some of them are local but you can look at an issue like policing, you can find a race related research aspects of it at the local. And health, education, in some **[8.17]** compare our positions nationally or internationally to see how we compare, see what's happening. And employment, unemployment, wages, you can go on and on. There's no end to it. And as I said, in all these cases, they're usually issues of poverty and it's the same group of people there at the bottom. So while it may seem like you're working with race, in my opinion, you're dealing with poor people who happen to be of a particular racial background generally.

M: Yeah. When I attended the conference, I was, I remember, remember I told you I was struck that there is no white minority coming in **[9.00]** (mumbles) So I wonder, how many of your clients are not from (multiple voices)

A: Right. In a borough like Hackney, we don't get many white clients but my view is that if a white person comes to me and for all intents and purposes you could be white, you know, in way you're, say, people of colour, say you look that way, I would be the last to say that they haven't been racially discriminated against because it's not about your colour, it's about somebody treating you unfairly because of your race (multiple voices) or whatever cause it's all part and parcel of the same thing. So it's not that we discriminate against them, we invite them but it's just normally they have other structures and methods of dealing with their problems and concerns.

A: ... So most of the people that we, come to us, they don't have no where else. For example, they may go to the Citizens' Advice Bureau and what they'll quite often find there is that they may take a month to get an appointment. And then when they do get an appointment, there's no specialist who can deal with their area or **[10.18]** like to do with an allegation of racial discrimination or and with the solicitors, they've got to have money. There's lot of things that the CRE won't take on because they see themselves as national. So there's always a need to deal with, as I said, they're usually issues of poverty more than race. Race is what binds them together maybe. But it's about, I don't know, I'm not being educated properly at school and I got into trouble, my mum's gone up there, da-da-da-da-da. But it's normally black boys who are saying this or black girls more than the white boys and girls because they're taught in a different way. They have other mechanisms and maybe they can pay for private tuition or maybe they're perceived in a different way. For example, if you a lot of research into education and why it goes wrong, a lot of it's to do with the perceptions of teachers about what black kids will achieve, what white kids will achieve. So if you start off thinking that they'll achieve different things, you teach them in a different way. So that's what I'm saying, their needs are different. It's not that we don't invite them, it's just that they have other structures to deal with their problems if they have one. But we do get, obviously I'm sure you saw some white-skinned people there. There are always some, especially Jewish but like there are poor Jews as you know but most of them are not but there are some (multiple voices)

I know there are some, stats and facts are two different things as you're aware. But I'm aware that there is poverty and against like I've said, we do have this **[11.46]**, we see them and they tend to the poorer Jews, not the middle class or the better off Jews. It's most to do with issues of poverty. Again, (multiple voices)

M: What about Asian?

A: Yeah, we have all of those sort of people (multiple voices)

M: Turkish and Kurdish (multiple voices)

A: With these people, I think increasingly becoming so but what's happened recently is that these communities have grown within the last ten years, so to speak. They have been developing their own structures which are separate to ours to some degree. But the whole idea of this Race Equality Unit is to bring all these people back together in one broad church because we do have common issues, needs and interests. And it's about we advocate and represent our respective communities or BMEs together.

M: So basically for the next conference, you will send an invitation for all different communities to come along.

A: Let me explain it to you this way. When we have these little conferences, we send information out normally through HCVS's database and other things. Now HCVS's database is the most complete database of its type in the borough. So everybody gets it. Who chooses to come

M: No, that's fair enough. That's good.

A: And that's just one of the methods we use but we make sure we use that one. We also send it to newspapers, local authority, to the groups we meet, we have our own database, but I'm just saying, just talking about CVSs, every group gets it. But they choose not to come along.

M: That's really good, that's interesting. Um, can I ask you something about your community? Are you, are you consider yourself an integral part of your community or you are you know, secular person who's like you know, any other

A: So you're talking about me as an individual, my personal views.

M: Yeah, yeah, you an individual, maybe you know, I will frame it differently. Um, it's a question about your community or your communities. Where are they from?

A: Who are my community? How do I perceive myself? I'll put it this way, I like to think as myself like a black **[14.08]** rock, that I've got Hackney imprinted right through me. So that's in my community, are Hackney. Because I am male and black, I suppose I'd have the affinity to people who are more likely to be male and black than anybody else. But as I said to you a while ago, my views that I, my job is to represent all ethnic minorities and to some degrees, even the English can be classes as ethnic minorities. And it's about fighting poverty and injustice. So if somebody says to me (multiple voices) I'm here in Hackney.

M: No, I'm asking you like something which is not to be answered as your holding certain job, just (multiple voices)

A: I'm a Hackney boy.

M: You were brought up here?

A: Yeah, I'm a Hackney boy through and through.

A: I can go to any meeting in this borough and say to people, I've been here all my life. I have an allegiance to this place, a commitment to it, do you? And I'm nearly 50 years old so I can say that quite happily.

M: What I understood that Africans and (people of the) Caribbean are not the same.

A: That's right, yeah.

M: Could you expand?

A: Right. If you look at racism or communities, you can keep splitting them up forever and ever. For example, you can go to an island in the Caribbean and the people on this island, they might **[15.43]** that island, right. And on that island …those in the north... And those in the south, **[15.52]** but it can go on and on. So while you have lots of things in common, you can always find divisions but there are a lot more things that they have in common than what divides us.

A: There are those differences as I said, within any community you can find differences. Generally **[16.43]** with the African-Caribbean, the African community, there's generally less of those problems. They tend to be better educated, maybe more employment than Caribbeans, less crime, probably more religion as well so there may be greater discipline and family

M: Connections?

A: Not connections but stability, families sticking together, working which provides lots of support for children and the elderly, etc., social structures. But there is, it's like if you go to the Jewish communities, you know, there is no one Jewish community.

M: No, it's very

A: Right, within any community you look at, you can always find differences like (multiple voices) **[17.20]**

A: What I'm making is a real genuine point because even if you're into the lesbian and gay community, they're not all the same.

M: Obviously not.

A: You've got the rich ones, the poor ones, the ones that live here, the ones that live there, the ones that believe in this, the ones that believe in that, they're all different. And you can find that in any community. That's why I'm saying it's more about what we have in common than our differences. You can always find differences. Some like this, some don't like that, some are religious, some are not. For example, if I'm of a religious belief, I probably more in common with you than an atheist who may be white. It's the principles that we share, beliefs about how we live, think about that. Even as a Jew and a Muslim, because you had that belief in the Bible and that discipline, you probably have more in common than you would with an atheist. You think about it.

A: There's always some progress. You know, things can't remain bad or backward but it's how much progress. Is it enough within that time? For example, when you look at the amount of money that comes into this borough to solve these problems, we have to ask, where's it going? We don't see the money. People like me, the work I do, we don't get paid to do it. And at the same time, we don't see no changes in our communities. Our kids are still just as likely to be unemployed on the street corners with a gun in their pocket and a tin of **[19.58]** brew in their hand or whatever. Where's the changes? **[interruption]**

M: Again, something about **[20.17]** can you describe a common encounter **[20.22]** member of your community with a police, actually you've kind of answered it. Who's more likely to get in touch with the police **[20.29]**

A: Who's more likely to get in touch with them?

M: Yeah, something that.

A: It's those who the police are more likely to sympathise with and help, to cut a long story short. And then that has to do with where you live, your gender, your age, your income, and maybe to some degree **[21.08]** For example, domestic violence, you make a phone call or child abuse, and they're around here, like a whippet. Yes? Police. But if you phoned up and said this black boy's threatening to rob me, they're not interested until somebody gets shot. That's where it ends up.

M: So there are like specific crimes who also

A: No, what I'm saying is that there's been a lot of publicity about things like domestic violence cause they take that very seriously. But then these young boys, out on the street, they may be in a position where they could be robbed or seriously assaulted, the police are not interested. Cause one of the reasons why, in my opinion, you get gangs with guns and knives, is because when these kids go to the police, they don't get no help. So what do they do? Do you understand the point I'm making? The police are not interested in anything they have to say. They're only interested in nicking them. They see them as perpetrators, not victims.

M: So there is a problem of stigma, yeah.

A: Racism. Call it what you want but that's what it is at the end of the day, they have a racist perception on these young men.

M: Do you know that directly from people that you have tried to call the police and they didn't (multiple voices)

A: You can walk out on this road now and stop the first black person you know and ask them, it wouldn't take you long to hear these stories time and time again I assure you. We can do it now if you want, do an experiment, just to prove the point to you. We never get help. The police only see us as perpetrators, not as victims. Even the other day I was coming to work and I noticed them stopping cars for tax disks or whatever, and there was one car they stopped, an Asian boy, and they handcuffed him and took him away, no time. And I was having a go at the police about it and why they did it. And they only justifiable excuse he could give me that he was a young man with a very expensive car. But obviously my argument too was well there's lots of young people in expensive cars in Chelsea, I can't see you nicking all them. I understood his point to some degree but I'm not sure. But then while I'm stood there arguing with him, a white woman drove up and she clearly did not have tax on her car and she was gone within less than a minute. So I pointed this out to him and he **[something rang]**

APPENDIX 6: LEARNING TRUST WEEKLY BULLETIN

Bulletin article

Name [redacted] **Job title:** Community & Partnerships

Extension: 7465 **Email** [redacted]

Article title (please limit to 4-5 words):

Ethnic identity and attitudes towards the police in a London inner city borough

Article

This research is being carried out in Hackney by Maya Stavisky, a PhD student from Cambridge University and is being funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) studentship.

The aim of this research is to investigate BME (Black and Minority Ethnic) communities' attitudes towards the police and to check these attitudes against levels of acculturation, i.e. the process of adopting the cultural traits or social patterns of another group (e.g. the dominant British culture), the nature of the different communities and levels of ethnic identification. The study explores BME communities' experiences with the police (e.g. positive and negative, direct and indirect) and aims at promoting understanding of police legitimacy and accountability in an ethnically diverse society. The Safer Schools Partnership is a component of this study.

In early 2007, the researcher plans to administer student questionnaires in several Hackney secondary schools following approval by headteachers. Hackney Borough Police and LB Hackney's Community Safety Team are also supportive of this research. For further information or to express an interest in participating in this research contact Ms Maya Stavisky, Email: ms667@cam.ac.uk, Tel 07949601102 or write to Institute of Criminology, University of Cambridge, Sidgwick Avenue, Cambridge, CB3 9DT.

aspire | achieve | innovate

the learning trust
the future for education in Hackney

APPENDIX 7: REVISED SCHOOL SURVEY

Young People's Survey

What is this survey about?
Thank you very much for helping with this survey. The purpose of my study is to find out about young people's social lives, and more specifically about their views and experiences with the police.
Instructions:
Please answer all the questions as truthfully as you can. There are no right or wrong answers to the questions. I am only interested in your experiences and views. If you need help filling in any question, please ask.
Confidentiality:
The study and its findings are purely for the purpose of my research and everything you tell me will remain strictly **confidential** and **anonymous**. Neither your parent(s)/carer(s) nor your teacher will know anything of what you wrote down.
Contact details:
Maya Stavisky Email address: ms667@cam.ac.uk

About you

In this section you are asked about what you do in your spare time.

1. In the last four weeks, have you been to? Please tick one box for each line.

	Yes	**No**
A leisure or sports centre (e.g. gym)	☐	☐
A group or club (e.g. youth club or school club) where you can meet people your age and take part in activities such as playing pool, sport, music, art or drama	☐	☐
A volunteering activity (e.g. community projects)	☐	☐
A religious service (e.g. church, mosque)	☐	☐
A scouts or guides group, boys or girls brigade, or cadet group	☐	☐
A cinema, theatre or concert	☐	☐
A party (e.g. house party, warehouse party)	☐	☐
A shopping centre	☐	☐

Your neighbourhood and school

In this section you are asked about how safe you feel in your neighbourhood and your school.

2. Your neighbourhood. Please tick **one** box on each line that applies.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I feel safe walking alone in my neighbourhood during daylight hours.	☐	☐	☐	☐
There is a lot of crime in my neighbourhood.	☐	☐	☐	☐
I feel safe walking alone in my neighbourhood after dark.	☐	☐	☐	☐
There is a lot of violence in my neighbourhood.	☐	☐	☐	☐
There is a lot of graffiti in my neighbourhood.	☐	☐	☐	☐
There are certain areas in my neighbourhood I never feel safe walking in alone.	☐	☐	☐	☐

3. Your school. Please tick **one** box on each line that applies.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
The classrooms are clean and bright.	☐	☐	☐	☐
There is a lot of poor behaviour in my school (e.g. disruption of lessons).	☐	☐	☐	☐
Rule-breaking regularly happens in my school.	☐	☐	☐	☐
I feel safe in my school.	☐	☐	☐	☐
I feel the need to avoid school sometimes because of bullying.	☐	☐	☐	☐
I feel safe on the way to/from school.	☐	☐	☐	☐

Your social life

In this section you are asked about your social life. This includes questions about your friends.

4. Do you have a group of friends with whom you meet regularly?

☐ Yes → **answer question 5 below**
☐ No → **go to question 7**

5. The friends with whom I spend the most time:

Please tick as many boxes as apply.

☐ Are from my immediate family (e.g. brother, sister)
☐ Are from my extended family (e.g. cousin)
☐ Are from the same neighbourhood or estate
☐ Are from the same ethnic background (e.g. Pakistani, Greek)
☐ Speak the same non-English language I speak (e.g. Turkish, Urdu)
☐ Are from my school
☐ Are my age
☐ Are the same sex
☐ Wear the style of clothes I wear
☐ Listen to the music I listen to
☐ Watch the movies I watch
☐ Play the computer games I play
☐ Play the sports games I play

☐ Hang around on the same streets

6. Does being part of this group provide you with:
Please tick **one** box on each line that applies.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Respect from others outside this group (e.g. on the street)	☐	☐	☐	☐
Support	☐	☐	☐	☐
A feeling of belonging	☐	☐	☐	☐
A sense of power	☐	☐	☐	☐

If you can think of other reasons why being part of the group is important to you, please say what these are below:

7. When you have a personal problem, who:
Please tick as many boxes as apply.

	Parent(s) or adult(s) I live with	Sibling(s)	Friend(s)	Teacher(s)	Mentor(s)	Other(s)	None
do you talk to?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
notices?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
would you ask for advice?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Encounters with police

In this section you are asked about your experiences with the police in your school.

8. Since September 2007, how often have you noticed a school officer?

☐ At least daily
☐ At least weekly
☐ At least every two weeks
☐ At least monthly
☐ Less often than once per month
☐ Never → **go to question 12**

9. Since September 2007, have you had any contact with a school officer?

☐ Yes → **answer question 10 below**
☐ No → **go to question 12**

10. What was the reason? If you spoke more than once, please refer to the most recent time and tick **one** box only.

☐ I asked the school officer for advice or information
☐ A general chat
☐ I reported a dangerous or suspicious activity occurring in or around school
☐ I told the school officer that something was stolen from me
☐ I told the school officer that I was threatened
☐ I told the school officer that I was physically attacked

☐ I told the school officer that I was verbally abused

☐ The school officer stopped and searched me
☐ The school officer asked me to move on
☐ The school officer asked me about something me or my friends did
☐ Other, please specify:

11. Thinking of the last contact, how satisfied or dissatisfied were you with the way you were treated by the school officer?

☐ Very satisfied
☐ Satisfied
☐ Dissatisfied
☐ Very dissatisfied

In the next section you are asked about other people's experience with the school officers.

12. Since September 2007, has a school friend told you about contact they have had with the school officer?

☐ Yes → **answer question 13 below**
☐ No → **go to question 14**

13. What kind of contact was it? If you spoke more than once, please refer to the most recent time. Please tick **one** box on each line that applies. **My school friend:**

☐ had a general chat with the school officer
☐ asked the officer for advice or information
☐ reported a dangerous or suspicious activity occurring in or around school

☐ was asked by the school officer to move on
☐ was stopped and searched by the police officer
☐ was asked by the police officer about something he/she did

☐ reported being physically attacked
☐ reported being threatened
☐ reported being verbally abused
☐ reported that something was stolen from her/him
☐ Other, please specify:

In this section you are asked about how you feel or think about the police in your school.

14. Please tick one box on each line that applies.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I would report a crime occurring in school (such as a phone getting stolen) to the school officers.	☐	☐	☐	☐
The school officers are successful in keeping students safe.	☐	☐	☐	☐
The school officers treat girls and boys equally.	☐	☐	☐	☐

I trust the school officers to help students if they have been victims of crime.	☐	☐	☐	☐
The school officers deal with issues efficiently.	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would report a classmate being bullied to the school officers.	☐	☐	☐	☐
I should do what the school police officers tell me to do even when I don't like what they tell me.	☐	☐	☐	☐
The school officers treat White, Black, Asian or any other students the same way.	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would report a classmate carrying a knife to the school officers.	☐	☐	☐	☐
I trust the school police officers to handle sensitive information with discretion.	☐	☐	☐	☐
The school officers treat students with respect.	☐	☐	☐	☐

15. Please tick one box on each line that applies.

	Excellent job	Good job	Fair job	Poor job	Very poor Job
Overall, do you think the police in your **school** are doing good or a poor job?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Overall, do you think the police in your **neighborhood** are doing a good or poor job?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Things that happened

16. In the last year, have any of the following happened to you?

	Yes	No
You were bullied	☐	☐
You were threatened by other(s)	☐	☐
You had your mobile phone or MP3 player stolen from you	☐	☐
You had something else stolen from you	☐	☐
You had something that belongs to you damaged or destroyed on purpose	☐	☐
You were insulted because of your race or ethnicity	☐	☐
You were attacked because of your race or ethnicity	☐	☐
You were insulted because of your sex or sexual orientation	☐	☐
You were attacked because of your sex or sexual orientation	☐	☐
You were insulted because of your special needs	☐	☐
You were attacked because of your special needs	☐	☐
You were a victim of an offence not mentioned above	☐	☐

Things you have done

17. In the last year, have you?

	Yes	No
Shoplifted or stolen anything from a shop, supermarket or department store.	☐	☐
Bought, sold or held into something you knew had been stolen.	☐	☐
Vandalised somebody else's property, or written graffiti on walls, buses, trains, seats etc.	☐	☐
Attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting him or her.	☐	☐
Carried a weapon to school, or in your neighbourhood.	☐	☐
Stolen or tried to steal a car, van or motorbike.	☐	☐
Stolen or tried to steal anything from a vehicle.	☐	☐

Sneaked or broken into a building intending to steal.	☐	☐
Stolen or tried to steal anything which is not mentioned above.	☐	☐
Been arrested or taken to a police station.	☐	☐

18. Have you ever been excluded from school (for a number of days or permanently)?

☐ Yes
☐ No

19. In the last year, have you ever bunked off school?

☐ Never
☐ A lesson here and there
☐ A day here and there
☐ Several days at a time
☐ Weeks at a time

Your background

20. Do you live in Hackney?	☐ Yes	☐ No
21. How old are you?	☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐ 13 ☐ 14	☐ 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18
22. Are you male or female?	☐ Female	☐ Male
23. With whom do you live?	☐ My parents ☐ Only my father ☐ Only my mother ☐ My father and step mother	☐ My mother and step father ☐ With my foster parents ☐ None of the above. I live with: _____
24. When did you join this school?	☐ This year ☐ Last year ☐ Two years ago	☐ Three years ago ☐ Four years ago ☐ Five years ago
25. How many times have you moved homes since you were five years old?	☐ Never ☐ Once ☐ Twice	☐ 3-5 times ☐ 6 times or more
26. In your last report were your grades mostly*?	☐ As ☐ Bs ☐ Cs	☐ Ds ☐ Es
27. Do you receive free school meals?	☐ Yes ☐ No	
28. Were you born in the UK?	☐ Yes ☐ No, I was born in: _____	

29. Was your mother (if known) born in the UK?	☐ Yes ☐ No, she was born in: _____
30. Was your father (if known) born in the UK?	☐ Yes ☐ No, he was born in: _____

31. To which ethnic group do you belong?	**White** ☐ English ☐ Scottish ☐ Welsh ☐ Any other White British ☐ Irish ☐ Traveller of Irish decent ☐ Albanian ☐ Greek/Greek Cypriot ☐ Turkish ☐ Turkish Cypriot ☐ White Eastern European ☐ White Western European ☐ White other ☐ Gypsy/Roma	**Asian or Asian British** ☐ Indian ☐ Pakistani ☐ Bangladeshi ☐ Any Other Asian Background **Black or Black British** ☐ Caribbean ☐ Angolan ☐ Congolese ☐ Ghanaian ☐ Nigerian ☐ Sierra Leonian ☐ Somali ☐ Sudanese ☐ Other Black African ☐ Any Other Black Background
	Mixed ☐ White and Black Caribbean ☐ White and Black African ☐ White and Asian ☐ Any Other Mixed Background	**Chinese** ☐ Chinese **Any other ethnic group** ☐ Afghan ☐ Kurdish ☐ Latin/South/Central American ☐ Vietnamese ☐ Any Other Ethnic Group
32. Please state your belief or faith if you have one.	☐ Christian ☐ Buddhist ☐ Hindu ☐ Jewish	☐ Muslim ☐ Sikh ☐ No religion ☐ Other. Please specify:

THANK YOU!

APPENDIX 8: HEAD TEACHER'S LETTER TO PARENTS

8th March 2007

Dear

Thank you for coming to school to meet with concerned staff, and other parents. At the meeting we discussed a range of serious issues that the group of girls have either been involved directly with, or are aware of through their extended group of friends. These include:

- Violent incidents including street fights as well as fights in school
- Having friends and boyfriends who are a lot older, some of whom are involved in gangs and criminal activity
- Taking drugs and distributing them amongst friends
- Damaging school property
- Smoking in the toilets
- Writing obscene graffiti and/or being present when it is being written around the building
- Sexualised behaviour, again usually with boys who are much older
- Disrespect for other students often seen as bullying by others
- Disrespect to teachers and the rules of the school
- Underachievement at school characterised by lack of homework, lateness to school and lessons, and poor behaviour by some girls in some classes.

We also agreed that:

1. Parents and teachers would re-assert the expectation that the basic rules of the school would be upheld, particularly the requirement to respect teachers, all school rules and other students.
2. Parents would discuss the types of activity that the groups have been involved in which are itemised above and the consequences which are likely to follow. These will include sanctions at home, school (exclusion), and in more extreme circumstances Police, Social Services and Housing Authority action.
3. Teachers will contact parents directly if any of the basic rules of the school are transgressed. Contact numbers have now been re-issued to all staff.

Yours sincerely

[redacted]
Headteacher

APPENDIX 9: CORRELATION TABLE: INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

	Age	Gender	SES	G-0	G-1	G-2	E- Tur	E -Asi	E-Afr	E-Car	E-Oth	E- Whi	S- CP	S-SK	S-SN	S-HF	Offend	Victim	Con- 0	Con-1	Con -2	Con- 3	Satisfied	Un-Satisfied	Not Safe S	Not safe N	Family Net.	Ethnic Net.	Support Net.
Age	1																												
Gender	-.132*	1																											
SES	-.278**	-0.09	1																										
G-0	0.079	-.135*	0.028	1																									
G-1	-0.07	-0.01	0.109	-.418**	1																								
G-2	0.01	.114*	-.131*	-.508**	-.570**	1																							
E- Tur	-0.01	-.142*	.198**	0.061	.132*	-.162**	1																						
E-Asi	0.035	-0.07	-0.07	-0.06	.141*	-0.06	-.114*	1																					
E-Afr	-0.07	-0.03	0.026	.155**	.281**	-.375**	-.184**	-.234**	1																				
E- Car	0.001	-0.04	-0.04	-0.1	-.217**	.306**	-.151**	-.193**	-.309**	1																			
E-Oth	0.103	-0.02	0.061	0.029	0.006	-0.03	-0.06	-0.08	-.127*	-0.11	1																		
E-Whi	0.026	.213**	-.118*	-.120*	-.258**	.355**	-.148**	-.189**	-.303**	-.250**	-0.1	1																	
S- CP	-.181**	.174**	0.033	-0.06	0.013	0.005	-.221**	-.253**	.227**	0.087	-0.07	-0.05	1																
S- SK	.224**	-.527**	-0	.265**	0.008	-.203**	.210**	.244**	-0.08	-0.07	0.019	-.136*	-.492**	1															
S-SN	-0.04	.261**	-0.11	-.217**	-0.01	.188**	0.02	0.052	-.162**	-0.06	-0.01	.206**	-.460**	-.340**	1														
S-HF	0.015	.131*	0.102	0.01	-0.02	0.024	0.024	-0.02	-0.02	0.058	0.1	-0.02	-.260**	-.192**	-.180**	1													
Offend.	0	.177**	0.028	-0.02	0.056	-0.04	-.125*	-0.09	0.101	0.041	-0.05	0.002	0.084	-0.1	-0.07	0.115	1												
Victimi.	-0.06	0.017	.123*	0.045	-0.03	-0.02	0.015	0.004	0.055	-0.06	-0.03	-0	-0.01	-0.03	-0.01	0.08	.267**	1											
Con0	.120*	-0.03	-0.01	-0.01	0.078	-0.04	0.059	0.016	-0.05	-0.04	0.056	0.068	-0.06	0.082	0.023	-0.06	-.214**	-0.13	1										
Con 1	0.026	0.061	-0.06	-0.05	-0.05	0.111	0	-0.04	-0.01	-0.04	0.026	0.061	-0.1	0.064	0.05	-0.01	.198**	0	-.361**	1									
Con 2	-0.08	0.045	0.063	-0.01	0.079	-0.06	-0.04	0.013	0.02	0.054	-0.08	0.045	0.068	-0.09	-0.07	0.114	0.048	-0.04	-.552**	-.161**	1								
Con 3	-0.12	-0.09	-0	0.047	-0.12	0.027	-0.09	-0.03	0.075	0.018	-0.04	-0.12	0.136	-0.11	-0	-0.06	0.157	.268**	-.474**	-0.14	-.212**	1							
Satisfied	-.169**	-0.02	-0.02	0.011	-0.03	0.01	-0.08	-0.03	0.07	0.056	-0.05	-0.06	.174**	-.149**	-0.03	-0.02	0.103	.136*	-.531**	-.207**	.575**	.444**	1						
Un-Satisfied	-0.02	0.013	0.022	0.012	0.073	-0.09	-0.06	0.024	0.064	0.023	-0.04	-0.1	-0.03	-0.01	-0.04	0.109	.137*	0.046	-.191**	-0.07	0.118	.255**	-.119*	1					
Not Safe S	-0.05	-0.04	0.032	-0.02	0.014	-0.01	-0.02	-0.08	0.021	-0.02	0.072	-0.01	0.054	0.028	-.126*	0.054	0.018	.215**	-0.11	0.013	0.019	.142*	0.039	.140*	1				
Not safe N	-0.06	-0.06	-0.07	-0.03	-0.08	0.114	-0.04	-0.05	-0.05	0.057	-0.06	-0.06	-0.05	0.032	-0.06	0.115	-0.06	0.091	-0.04	0.094	0.107	-0.11	0.065	-0.034	0.105	1			
Family Net.	-0.06	-0.02	0.045	-0.02	-0.01	0.014	-0.04	0.055	0.1	-0.09	0.049	-0.09	-0.03	.119*	-0.07	-0.05	-0.07	0.04	0.032	-0.04	0.005	0.033	0.044	0.002	0.017	0.007	1		
Ethnic Net.	0.002	-0.1	0.06	0.108	0.075	-.156**	.120*	.145*	0.051	-0.11	-0.02	-.146*	0.071	.180**	-.210**	-0.09	0.073	0.032	-0.02	0.001	0.078	-0.04	0.062	0.004	0.016	-0.01	.122*	1	
Support Net.	0.101	-0.07	-0.01	0.011	-0.12	0.077	0.022	-0.07	-0.01	0.069	-0.04	0.007	.150*	0.069	-.119*	-.176**	-0.12	-0.05	-0.06	0.086	0.03	0.023	0.063	-0.066	-0.04	0.116	0.106	.146*	1

***p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Migration Status	Ethnicity	Contact with school police	School
G-0: Immigrant	E-Tur: Turkish	Con0: NoNo	S-CP: Cardinal Pole
G-1: First generation	E-Asi: Asian	Con1: NoYes	S-SK: Skinners
G-2: Second generation	E-Afr: African	Cont2: YesNo	S-SN: Stoke Newington
	E-Car: Caribbean	Cont3: YesYes	S-HF: Hackney Free
	E-Oth: Chinese & Other		
	E-Whi: White		